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AN
HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIODS TO THE PRESENT TIME;

BY
G. GREGORY, D. D.

JOINT EVENING PREACHER AT THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL,
AND CURATE OF ST. GILES'S, CRIPPLEGATE; AUTHOR
OF ESSAYS HISTORICAL AND MORAL, ETC..

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HISTORY

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME



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DESCRIPTION OF THE FRONTISPIECE TO
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N^o 5, *An Iron Glove*, with crooked and sharp Fingers—found in the Cemetery of Callipodium. Vide Aringham, tom. 2. Rom. Subter. p. 687; et Mamachium *De' Costumi de' Primit. Crist.* t. 2. p. 306.—Prudent. Arevel. t. 2. p. 1169.

6, *An Iron Comb* preserved in the Dominican Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene on the Quirinal Hill. Marc. Ant. Boldett. p. 319. Mamach. loc. citat. et p. 309, et tom. 3. Antiq. p. 205.—Prudent. Arevel. loc. cit.

7, An Instrument resembling in some Sort the *Talons* of Carnivorous Birds, with which the Bodies of the Martyrs were lacerated: preserved in the Museum of the Vatican.

8, This Instrument is often mentioned in the Theodosian Code, and by Prudentius.

Tundatur, inquit, terga crebris ictibus,
Plumboque cervix verberata extuberet.

Hymn. x. S. Romani, v. 116.

The *Plumbata* here represented consisted of Balls of Brass instead of Lead, connected by Chains of Iron; were found in the Tomb of a Martyr in the Pontificate of Benedict XIII, and are preserved in the Museum of the Vatican.

Prudent. Arevel. tom. 2. p. 1073.

9 and 10, *Cauldrons of Fire*, represented on the Tombs of St. Victorina and Exuperantius. Consult Marc. Ant. Boldett. lib. 1. cap. lx. who represents, with these, other Instruments of Torture.—Prudent. Arevel. tom. 2. p. 1169.

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AN
HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE TENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.
GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE
TENTH CENTURY.

Success of the Nestorians in propagating the Gospel—Conversion of Norway, of the Poles, the Russians, the Hungarians, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Normans—Luxury of the Clergy—History of the Popes from Leo V. to Silvester II.—Increase of the Papal Power—Iniquitous Distribution of Preferments—Monastic Institutions—Order of Clugni.

THE night of ignorance had now almost completely obscured the pure light of evangelical truth ; and morality, not less than religion, appeared to be subverted. The system of the Gospel, however, increased in name at least, if not in substance. The Nestorians in Chaldea extended their spiritual conquests beyond mount Imaus, and introduced the Christian religion into Tartary,

properly so called, whose inhabitants had hitherto lived in their natural state of ignorance and ferocity, uncivilized and savage. The same successful missionaries spread, by degrees, the knowledge of the Gospel among that powerful nation of the Turks, or Tartars, which were distinguished by the name of Karit, and whose territory bordered on Kathay, or on the northern part of China*. The laborious industry of this sect, and their zeal for the extension of the Christian faith, deserve the highest encomiums; but the historians of the Church have, in general, been more disposed to record the errors than the virtues of those who differed from the orthodox creed.

If we contemplate the Western world, we shall find the Gospel proceeding with more or less rapidity through the most rude and uncivilized nations. The dukes of Poland and Russia were induced to profess the Christian faith; the Hungarians also enrolled themselves amongst the believers in the Gospel; and the zeal of Adeldagus and Poppo produced similar effects in the countries of Denmark and Sweden. The celebrated arch-pirate Rollo, son of a Norwegian count, being banished from his native land†, had, in the preceding century, put himself at the head

* Jos. Sim. Assemani *Bibliotheca Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii. part II. p. 482.—Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 256.

† Holbergi *Historia Danorum Navalis in Scriptis Societatis Scient. Hafniens.* part III. p. 357.

of a resolute band of Normans, and seized upon one of the maritime provinces of France, whence he infested the whole adjacent country with perpetual incursions and depredations. In the year 912, this valiant chief embraced, with his whole army, the Christian faith; but convenience, not conviction, must be confessed to have been his motive. Charles the Simple, who was equally destitute both of courage and ability to expel this warlike invader from his dominions, was obliged to have recourse to negotiation, and accordingly offered to assign over to him a considerable part of his territories, upon condition that he would consent to a peace, espouse his daughter Gisela, and embrace Christianity. These terms were accepted by Rollo, without hesitation; and his army, conformably to this example, were soon induced to profess a religion of which they were in fact totally ignorant*.

Their conversion was indeed almost entirely nominal for a considerable time, and their conduct such as to excite complaints from the archbishop of Rheims to the Pope, to whom he represented the Normans as violating their baptismal oath, by sacrificing to idols, as eating of meats which had been offered to their antient divinities, and as cruelly destroying the Christian priests.

* Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 296.—Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 587.

The luxury and ignorance of the clergy were equally conspicuous during the tenth century. Some opinion of the conduct of the Grecian patriarchs may be formed from that of Theophylact. This prelate, who sold every ecclesiastical benefice as soon as it became vacant, had in his stables above 2000 hunting horses, which he fed with pignuts, pistachios, dates, dried grapes, figs steeped in the most exquisite wines, to all which he added the richest perfumes. One Holy Thursday, as he was celebrating high-mass, his groom brought him the joyful news that one of his favourite mares had foaled; upon which he threw down the Liturgy, left the church, and ran in raptures to the stable: whence, after having expressed his joy at this important event, he returned to the altar to finish the solemn service which had remained interrupted during his absence*.

The history of the Roman pontiffs, in this century, exhibits, with some instances of piety and ability, a series of disgusting and complicated crimes. The source of these disorders must be sought for principally in the calamities which afflicted the greatest part of Europe, and particularly Italy, after the extinction of the race of Charlemagne. Upon the death of the pontiff Benedict IV. which happened in the year 903, Leo V. was raised to the pontificate; but this

* See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* livre lv. 97. edit. *Bruxelle.*

prelate enjoyed his elevation only forty days, and was dethroned and imprisoned by Christopher, one of his domestics.

The usurper was however, in his turn, deprived of the pontifical dignity in the following year, by Sergius III. a Roman presbyter. This pontiff owed his elevation to the protection of Adalbert, a powerful Tuscan prince, whose influence over every affair transacted at Rome was unlimited; but the short period of his reign was only remarkable for the ambition and licentiousness of the prelate. The pontificates of Anastasius III. and Lando, who after the death of Sergius were successively raised to the papal chair, were too transient to be very fruitful in events.

After the death of Lando, in the year 914, Albert*, marquis or count of Tuscany, obtained the pontificate for John X. archbishop of Ravenna, in compliance with the solicitation of Theodora, his mother-in-law, whose lewdness is recorded to have been the principle which interested her in this promotion. John X. though

* Mosh. Cent. x. Dr. Mosheim, by a mistake, calls him Alberic. He was in reality grandson to Theodora, by her daughter Marozia, who was married to Albert. See Spanheim, *Eccel. Hist.* secul. x. p. 1432.—Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livre liv. p. 571. edit. *Bruxelle*. This latter historian is of opinion, that it was the younger Theodora, the sister of Marozia, who, from an amorous principle, raised John X. to the pontificate.

6 *Popes from Leo VI. to John XI.* [CENT. 10,

in other respects a scandalous example of iniquity and licentiousness, acquired a certain degree of reputation by his glorious campaign against the Saracens, whom he expelled from their settlements upon the banks of the Garigliano*. He did not, however, long enjoy his elevation; the enmity of Marozia, daughter of Theodora, and wife of Albert, proved fatal to him. That intriguing woman having espoused Wido, or Guy, marquis of Tuscany, after the death of her first consort, engaged him to seize the wanton pontiff, who was her mother's lover, and to put him to death in the prison where he lay confined. The unfortunate and licentious John was succeeded by Leo VI. who presided but seven months in the apostolic chair, which was filled after him by Stephen VII. The death of the latter, which happened in the year 931, presented to the ambition of Marozia an object worthy of its grasp; and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity John XI. who was the fruit of her lawless amours with one of the pretended successors of St. Peter, Sergius III. whose adulterous commerce with that infamous woman gave an *infallible* guide to the Roman Church.

John XI. who was placed at the head of the Church by the credit and influence of his mother,

* Moth. His expression is *Montem Garilianum*, which is, undoubtedly, a mistake, as the *Garigliano* is a river in the kingdom of Naples, and not a mountain.

was precipitated from this summit of spiritual grandeur, A. D. 933, by Alberic his half-brother, who had conceived the utmost aversion against him. Upon the death of Wido, the splendid offers of the infamous Marozia had allured Hugo, king of Italy, to accept her hand. But the unfortunate monarch did not long enjoy the promised honour of being made the master of Rome. Alberic his son-in-law, stimulated by an affront which he had received from him, excited the Romans to revolt, and expelled from the city not only the offending king, but his mother Marozia and her son, the reigning pontiff, all of whom he confined in prison, where John ended his days in the year 936. The four pontiffs, who in their turns succeeded and filled the papal chair till the year 956, were Leo VII. Stephen VIII. Marianus II. and Agapet, whose characters were greatly superior to those of their immediate predecessors, and whose government, at least, was not attended with those tumults and revolutions, which had so frequently shaken the pontifical throne, and banished from Rome the inestimable blessings of peace. Upon the death of Agapet, which happened in the year 956, Alberic II. who to the dignity of Roman consul joined a degree of authority and opulence which nothing could resist, raised to the pontificate his son Octavian, who was yet in the early bloom of youth, and destitute of every quality requisite to discharge the duties of that

important office. This unworthy pontiff took the name of John XII. and thus introduced the custom, which has since been adopted by all his successors in the see of Rome, of assuming a new appellation upon their accession to the pontificate.

The fate of John XII. was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Unable to bear the oppressive yoke of Berenger II. king of Italy, he sent ambassadors, in the year 960, to Otho the Great, entreating him to march into Italy, at the head of a powerful army, to deliver the Church and the People from the tyranny with which they were oppressed. To these entreaties the perplexed pontiff added a solemn promise, that, if the German monarch came to his assistance, he would array him with the purple, and the other ensigns of sovereignty, and proclaim him Emperor of the Romans. Otho received the embassy with pleasure, marched into Italy at the head of a large body of troops, and was accordingly saluted by John with the promised title. The pontiff, however, soon perceiving that he had acted with too much precipitation, repented of the step he had taken; and, though he had so solemnly sworn allegiance to the Emperor as his lawful sovereign, violated his oath, and joined Adelbert, the son of Berenger, against Otho. This revolt was not left unpunished. The Emperor returned to Rome in the year 964, called a council, before which he accused and convicted the pontiff of the most atrocious crimes; and
after

after having ignominiously degraded him from his office, appointed Leo VIII. to fill his place. Upon Otho's departure from Rome, John returned to that city, and in a council, which he assembled in the year 964, condemned the pontiff whom the Emperor had elected; and soon after died in consequence of a violent blow on the temples inflicted by the hand of a gentleman whose wife he had seduced. After his death the Romans chose Benedict V. bishop of Rome, in opposition to Leo; but the Emperor annulled this election, restored Leo to the papal chair, and carried Benedict to Hamburg, where he died in exile.

From this gloomy picture of depravity and vice we turn with some degree of pleasure, to consider those pontiffs who governed the see of Rome from Leo VIII. who died A. D. 965, to Gerbert or Silvester II. who was raised to the pontificate towards the conclusion of this century. Their pontificates were indeed unadorned by the display of profound erudition, or of any splendid qualities; but the conduct of most of them was decent, and their administration respectable. John XIII. who was elevated to the papal chair in the year 965, by the authority of Otho the Great, was expelled from Rome in the beginning of his administration; but the year following, upon the Emperor's return to Italy, he was restored to his dignity, in the calm possession of which he ended his days, A. D. 972. His successor, Benedict VI. was
not

not so happy : cast into prison by Crecentius, son of the famous Theodora, in consequence of the hatred which the Romans had conceived both against his person and government, he was loaded with every species of ignominy, and was strangled, in the year 974, in the apartment where he lay confined. Unfortunately for him, Otho the Great, whose power and severity kept the Romans in awe, died in the year 973, and with him expired that order and discipline which he had restored in Rome by salutary laws, executed with impartiality and vigour. The face of affairs was indeed entirely changed by that event ; licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations, resumed their former sway, and diffused their horrors through that miserable city. After the death of Benedict, the papal chair was filled by Franco, who assumed the name of Boniface VII. This prelate, who is strongly suspected of having by his insinuations occasioned the murder of his predecessor, did not long enjoy his dignity. One month had scarcely elapsed after his promotion, before he was deposed from his office and expelled from the city. He was succeeded by Donus II.* who is known by no other circumstance than his name. Upon his death, which happened in the year 975, Benedict VII. was created pontiff ; and, during the space of nine years, ruled the Church without much op-

* Some writers place Donus II. before Benedict VI. See the *Tabula Synoptica Hist. Eccles.* of the learned Pfaff.

CENT. 10.] *Popes from Benedict VII. to John XVI. 11*

position, and ended his days in peace. This singular prosperity was, without doubt, principally owing to the opulence and credit of the family to which he belonged; for he was nearly related to the celebrated Alberic, whose power, or rather despotism, had been unlimited in Rome.

His successor John XIV. who from the bishopric of Pavia was raised to the pontificate, derived no support from his birth, which was obscure, nor did he continue to enjoy the protection of Otho III. to whom he owed his promotion. Hence the calamities which disturbed his government; and the misery that concluded his transitory grandeur; for Boniface VII. who had usurped the papal throne in the year 974, and in a little time after had been banished Rome, returned from Constantinople, whither he had fled for refuge; and by employing the money he had obtained by the sale of several costly ornaments which he had fraudulently carried from Rome, in largesses to the populace, he obtained such authority as enabled him to seize and imprison the unfortunate pontiff, and afterwards to put him to death. By these means Boniface resumed the government of the Church; but his reign was also transitory, for he died about six months after his restoration*. He was succeeded by John XV. whom some writers call John XVI. alleging that another John ruled the Church during the space of four months,

* Fleury says eleven months.

whom

whom they consequently call John XV. Whatever opinion may be formed on this subject, it is only necessary to observe that he possessed the papal dignity from the year 985 to 996, that his administration was as happy as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit, and that the tranquillity he enjoyed was not so much owing to his wisdom and prudence, as to his noble and illustrious ancestors, and to his being by birth a Roman. Thus much is also certain, that his successor Gregory V. who was a German, and who was elected Pontiff by the order of Otho III. in the year 996, experienced very different treatment; and was expelled from Rome by Crescens, the Roman consul, who conferred his dignity upon John XVI. formerly known by the name of Philagathus. But this revolution was not permanent in its effects. Otho III. alarmed by the disturbances at Rome, marched into Italy, in 998, at the head of a powerful army, and casting into prison the new pontiff, whom the soldiers, in the first moment of their fury, had barbarously maimed and abused, re-instated Gregory in his former honours, and placed him again at the head of the Church. Upon the death of this latter pontiff, which happened soon after his restoration, the same Emperor raised to the papal dignity his preceptor and friend, the famous and learned Gerbert or Silvester II. whose promotion

was

was attended with the universal approbation of the Roman people.

Amidst these frequent commotions, the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs imperceptibly increased. Otho the Great had indeed published a solemn edict, prohibiting the election of any pontiff without the previous knowledge and consent of the Emperor; and this monarch, as well as his son and grandson, who succeeded him in the empire, maintained, without interruption, their right of supremacy over the city of Rome, its territory, and its pontiff. The German, French, and Italian bishops, who were not ignorant of the nature of their privileges, and the extent of their jurisdiction, were also perpetually upon their guard against every attempt the Roman pontiff might make, to assume to himself *alone* a legislative authority in the Church. But, notwithstanding this, the bishops of *Rome* found means of augmenting their influence, and partly by open violence, partly by secret and fraudulent stratagems, encroached not only upon the privileges of the bishops, but also upon the jurisdiction and rights of the kings and emperors *. Their ambitious attempts were seconded and justified by the adulation of some mercenary ecclesiastics, who exalted the dignity and prerogatives of the Apostolic See in the most

* Several examples of these usurpations may be found in the *Histoire du Droit Eccles. Francois*, tom. i. p. 217. edit. in 8vo.

pompous and extravagant terms: and several learned writers have observed, that in this century many bishops maintained publicly that the Roman pontiffs were not only bishops of Rome, but of the whole world, an assertion which hitherto none had ventured to make*.

Of the manners of this age it is difficult to form a competent idea. They were a compound of the most inconsistent qualities, of superstition and licentiousness, of chivalry and devotion. The priests and the ladies divided the empire of the world; but they divided it, not as rivals, but as allies. The profitable share fell into the lap of the Church, while the female sex received the no less grateful tribute of adulation and respect. The accession of power and dignity which the superior orders of ecclesiastics received at this period baffle all computation. Many of the bishops and abbots obtained a complete immunity from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, as well as from all taxes, services, and imposts whatever. The ambition of others aspired at no less than the highest temporal dignities, and received the titles and honours of dukes, marquises, and counts of the Empire. The views and motives were various, which induced the sovereigns of Europe to comply with these presumptuous claims. The spiritual rulers were the

* *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 98. 186.

happiest agents which tyranny could employ for the subjection of the people. In many cases these agents were the sons or brothers of the temporal Lords*. Unbounded use was also made of the power which the Clergy had acquired over the consciences of the great, as well as over those of the people; the keys of purgatory at least, if not of hell, were deposited in their hands; the dying profligate considered no price too dear for the redemption of his soul; and in a word, to use the expression of a witty author—"having found, what Archimedes wanted, another world to rest on, they moved this world as they pleased†."

Power is however not necessarily the concomitant of high intellectual attainments; for in truth, the Clergy were so ignorant in this age, that it is said many among them were even incapable of repeating the Apostle's Creed. This, indeed, was a necessary consequence of the iniquitous and inju-

* Not a few of them of spurious origin.—Hugh king of Transjuran in Burgundy, in the 10th century, kept three mistresses, to whom he gave the names of three goddesses. He called Bezola, Venus; he named Roza, Juno, from her habit of scolding; and Stephania, Semele. Each of these ladies presented his majesty with a child. He preferred Bozo, the son of Venus, to the bishopric of Placenza; and Theobald, the son of Semele, he beneficed in the church of Milan: the other was a girl.

LUITPRAND, *quoted by Robinson.*

† The credit of this witticism Mr. Hume has chosen to take to himself, but it is really stolen from Dryden. See his *Don Sebastian*.

dition of ecclesiastical preferments. The election of bishops and abbots was no longer conducted according to the laws of the Church; but kings and princes, or their ministers and favourites, either conferred these ecclesiastical dignities upon their friends and creatures, or sold them without shame to the highest bidder. Hence it happened, as it ever will where the same measures are adopted, that the most meritorious were depressed or neglected, whilst the most illiterate and flagitious were frequently advanced to the highest stations in the Church; and upon several occasions, that even soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, and persons of a similar description, were, by a strange metamorphosis, converted into bishops and abbots*. The first flagrant abuse of pluralities is recorded as occurring in 936, when Manessih, bishop of Arles, obtained from Hugh, king of Italy, his relation, several other bishoprics: he is said to have been possessed of not less than four or five at one time. Gregory VII. however, endeavoured in the following century to put a stop to these increasing evils.

While the monastic orders, among the Greeks and Orientals, maintained still an external appear-

* See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 23. 37; tom. ii. p. 173. 179. *Codex Canon. Pitheci*, p. 398; as also Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. v. The downfall as well as corruption of every hierarchy may speedily be predicted, when the claims of learning and genius are disregarded in the distribution of preferments.

ance of religion and decency, the Latin monks, towards the commencement of this century, had so entirely neglected all subordination and discipline, that the greatest part of them knew not even by name the rule of St. Benedict, which they were obliged to observe. A noble Frank, whose name was Odo, a man as learned and pious as the ignorance and superstition of the times would permit, endeavoured to remedy this disorder; nor were his attempts totally unsuccessful. This zealous ecclesiastic being created, in the year 927, abbot of Clugni, in the province of Burgundy, upon the death of Berno, not only obliged the monks to live in a rigorous observance of their rules, but also added to their discipline a new set of rites and ceremonies. This institute of discipline was in a short time adopted in all the European convents. Thus it was, that the *order of Clugni* arrived to that high degree of eminence and authority, opulence and dignity, which it exhibited to the Christian world in the following century.

C H A P. II.

OF THE DOCTRINES, RITES, AND CEREMONIES
OF THE CHURCH, DURING THE TENTH CEN-
TURY.

*Ardour for accumulating Relics—Purgatory—The Day of
Judgment supposed to be at hand—Modes of creating
Saints—Solemn Excommunication—All Souls Day—Wor-
ship of the Virgin—Baptism of Bells—Controversy con-
cerning Marriage.*

THE state of religion in this century was such as might be expected in a season of prevailing ignorance and corruption. Both Greeks and Latins placed the essence and life of religion in the worship of images and departed saints, in searching after with zeal, and preserving with a devout care and veneration, the sacred relics of holy men and women, and in accumulating riches upon the priests and monks, whose opulence increased with the progress of superstition. Scarcely did the humble Christian dare to approach the throne of a merciful God, without first rendering the saints and images propitious, by a solemn round of expiatory rites and lustrations. The ardour also with which relics were sought, surpasses almost all credibility; it had seized all ranks and orders of the people, and was grown into a sort of fanaticism and frenzy; nor was it conceived to be any
nation

diminution of the dignity of the Supreme Being, to interpose in these discoveries, which according to the monkish legends were generally made in consequence of some miraculous communications to one of their holy fraternity, or to some superannuated female, who was directed to the place where the bones or remains of the saints lay dispersed or interred. The fears of purgatory were now carried to the greatest extent, and even exceeded the apprehensions of infernal torments. It was believed, that all must necessarily endure the pains of the former, but that the latter might be easily avoided, provided the deceased was enriched with the prayers of the clergy, or shielded by the merits and mediation of the saints.

Among the numerous opinions, however, which disgraced the Latin Church, and produced, from time to time, such violent agitations, none occasioned such a universal panic, nor such dreadful impressions of terror or dismay, as a notion that prevailed during this century of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. Hence prodigious numbers of people abandoned all their civil and parental connexions, and, assigning over to the churches or monasteries all their lands, treasures, and worldly effects, repaired, with the utmost precipitation, to Palestine, where they imagined that Christ would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves, by a solemn and voluntary oath, to

the service of the churches, convents, and priesthood, whose slaves they became, in the most rigorous sense, joyfully performing their diurnal tasks, from a notion, that the Supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, and look upon them with a more favourable and propitious eye, on account of their having made themselves the devotees of his ministers. When an eclipse of the sun or moon happened to be visible, the cities were deserted, and their miserable inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns, and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and in the cavities of mountains. The opulent attempted to bribe the Deity and his saints, by rich donations conferred upon the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who were considered as the immediate vicegerents of Heaven. In many places, temples, palaces, and noble edifices, both public and private, were suffered to decay, and were even deliberately pulled down, from an opinion that they were no longer of any use, since the dissolution of all things was at hand. This general delusion was, indeed, opposed and combated by the discerning few, who endeavoured to dispel these groundless terrors, and to efface the notion they arose from, in the minds of the people.

The number of the saints, who were looked upon as ministers of the kingdom of heaven, and whose patronage was esteemed such an unspeakable blessing, was now every where multiplied, and the celestial

celestial courts were filled with new legions of this species of beings, some of which had no existence but in the imagination of their deluded clients and worshippers. This multitude of saints may be easily accounted for, when we consider that superstition, the source of fear, was grown to such an enormous height in this age, as rendered the creation of new patrons necessary, to calm the anxiety of trembling mortals. The corruption and impiety also which now reigned with unbounded sway, and the licentiousness and dissolution that had so generally infected all ranks and orders of men, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired; for amidst such a perverse generation, it demanded no great efforts of virtue to be esteemed holy, and this doubtless contributed to increase considerably the number of the celestial advocates.

The Roman pontiff, who before this period had pretended to the right of creating saints by his sole authority, afforded, in this century, the first specimen of this ghostly power; for, in the preceding ages, there is no example of his having exercised this privilege alone. This specimen was given in the year 993, by John XV. who, with all the formalities of a solemn canonization, enrolled Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, in the number of the saints, and thus conferred upon him a title to the worship and veneration of Christians*.

* Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 259.

It appears that the saint acquired his right to that title from the application of Lintolph, bishop of Augsburg, who in an assembly composed of the Pope sitting, and several bishops, priests, and deacons standing around him, read aloud the life of the deceased, and recited an account of his miraculous restoration of the sick, and his powers of exorcising devils out of the possessed. As, whatever may be the vices of an ignorant age, incredulity is not amongst the catalogue, the wonderful relations of Lintolph were favourably received, and the decree* which elevated Udalric to his seat in

* As some readers may not have had an opportunity of seeing a decree of this nature, a copy of that which was enacted on this occasion is subjoined.

“ John, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all archbishops, bishops and abbots of France and Germany, greeting, and the apostolical benediction. Having held an assembly in the palace of the Lateran, on the last day of January, John the most holy pope sitting; with the bishops, priests, deacons and clergy standing, the most reverend Lintolph bishop of Augsburg said; Most holy bishop, if it may please you and the rest of the reverend bishops and priests here present, to give leave to read in your presence, the book which I hold in my hand, concerning the Life and Miracles of Uldaric, who was some time bishop of Augsburg, to the end that you may afterwards ordain what you shall think fit.” Then the life of that saint being read, they proceeded to the miracles which were performed by him, either in his lifetime or after his death; as, the restoring of sight to the blind; the exorcising of devils out of possessed persons; the curing of others afflicted with the palsy, and several other miracles which were not committed to writing.

“ These

in the celestial regions was unhesitatingly sealed by the Roman pontiff, five bishops, nine cardinal priests, and several deacons.

From this transaction it must not however be inferred, that the privilege of canonization was at this time solely vested in the bishop of Rome. There are several examples, upon record, which prove that not only provincial councils, but also several of the first order among the bishops, advanced to the rank of saints such as they thought worthy of that dignity, and continued thus to augment the celestial patrons of the Church, without even consulting the Roman pontiff, until the twelfth century*. At that period Alexander III. abrogated this privilege of the bishops and coun-

“ These things being thus related, we have resolved and ordained,
 “ with the common consent, that the memory of Uldaric ought
 “ to be honoured with a pious affection, and a sincere devotion,
 “ by reason that we are obliged to honour and shew respect to the
 “ relics of the martyrs and confessors, in order to adore Him
 “ whose martyrs and confessors they are : we honour the servants,
 “ to the end that this honour may redound to the Lord.
 “ It is our pleasure, therefore, that the memory of Uldaric be
 “ consecrated to the honour of the Lord, and that it may serve
 “ to celebrate his praises for ever.” Then follows the anathema
 against those who shall act any thing contrary to this decree,
 with the seals of the pope, of five bishops, of nine cardinal
 priests, and of several deacons.

* See Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 260 ; tom. iii. p. 30.—Arm. De la Chapelle, *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. x. p. 105.—Mabillon, *Prefat. ad Sac. V. Benedict.* p. 53.

cils, and placed *canonization* in the number of the more important acts of authority *, which the sovereign pontiff alone, by a peculiar prerogative, was entitled to exercise.

The number of ceremonies increased in proportion to that of the saints, which multiplied from day to day; for each new saintly patron had appropriated to his service a new festival, a new form of worship, a new round of religious rites; and the clergy discovered, in the creation of new ceremonies, a wonderful fertility of invention, attended with the utmost dexterity and artifice. It is observable that a great part of these new rites derived their origin from the various errors, which the barbarous nations had received from their ancestors, and still retained, even after their conversion to Christianity †. The clergy, instead of extirpating these errors, either gave them a Christian aspect, by inventing certain religious rites to cover their deformity, or by explaining them in a forced allegorical manner; and thus they were perpetuated in the Church, and devoutly transmitted from age to age.

Between the seventh and the tenth century, great solemnities were added to the sentence of excommunication. The most important was the extinction of lamps or candles, by throwing them to the ground, with a solemn imprecation, that

* These were called the *Causæ Majores*.

† See Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome.

the person against whom the excommunication was pronounced, might be extinguished or destroyed by the vengeance of God. The people were summoned to attend this ceremony by the sound of a *bell*, and the curses accompanying the ceremony were pronounced out of a book by the minister, standing in a balcony. Hence originated the phrase of cursing by *bell*, *book*, and *candle light* *.

The famous yearly festival which was celebrated in remembrance of *all departed souls*, was instituted by the authority of Odilo, abbot of Clugni, and added to the Latin calendar towards the conclusion of this century†. Previous to this, a custom had been introduced of offering up prayers, on certain days, for the souls that were confined in purgatory; but these prayers were made by each religious society, only for its own members, friends, and patrons. The pious zeal of Odilo could not be confined within such narrow limits; and he therefore extended the benefit of these prayers to all souls who laboured under the pains and trials of *purgatory*. This proceeding of Odilo was owing to the exhortations of a Sicilian hermit, who pretended to have learned, by an immediate revelation from Heaven, that the prayers of the monks of Clugni would be effectual for the deliverance of departed spirits from the expiatory

* Priestley's *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 179.

† In the year 998.

flames of an intermediate state. Accordingly this festival was, at first, celebrated only by the *congregation of Clugni*; but having afterwards received the approbation of one of the Roman pontiffs, it was, by his order, observed with peculiar devotion in all the Latin Churches.

The worship of the Virgin Mary, which, before this period, had been carried to a very high degree of idolatry, received new accessions of solemnity and superstition. Towards the conclusion of this century, a custom was introduced among the Latins, of celebrating masses, and abstaining from flesh, in honour of the blessed Virgin every sabbath day. After this was instituted, what the Latins called, the *lesser office*, in honour of St. Mary, which was, in the following century, confirmed by Urban II. in the council of Clermont. There are also to be found in this age manifest indications of the institution of the *Rosary*, and *Crown* of the Virgin, by which her worshippers were to reckon the number of prayers they were to offer to this new divinity. The *Rosary* consists of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and an hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin; while the *Crown* consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or *Ave Marias*. Three table-cloths of different fashions were consecrated for the use of the altar, and a kind of veil of different colours to be used on different days.

Among

Among the ceremonies, however, which were introduced about this period, none is more ridiculous than the consecration and baptizing of bells. The first fact of this kind upon record occurred about the year 968, when John XIII. sprinkled a large bell, which was cast for the Lateran at Rome, with holy water, blessed it, and pronounced it sacred. It is said that a similar custom still exists in the Romish church, and that, on the baptizing of bells, a prayer of consecration is used, which imports, that by its sound the people may be delivered from the assaults of their enemies, and the attacks of evil spirits*. God-fathers and god-mothers are also appointed to answer questions in the name of the bell†.

The controversies between the Greek and Latin churches were carried on with less impetuosity than in the preceding century, on account of the troubles and calamities of the times; yet they were not entirely reduced to silence‡. The writers therefore who affirm that this unhappy schism was healed, and that the contending parties were really reconciled to each other for a certain space of time, have been grossly mistaken §;

* Sueur, A. D. 968.

† Priestley's History of Corruptions, vol. ii. p. 110.

‡ Mich. Lequien. *Dissert. i. Damascanica de Processione Spiritus Sancti*, f. xiii. p. 12.—Fred. Spanheim, *De perpetua Dissensione Ecclesie Oriental. et Occidental.* part IV. f. vii. p. 529, tom. ii. Opp.

§ Leo Allatius, *De perpetua Consensione Ecclesie Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. vii, viii. p. 600,

though

though it be indeed true, that the tumults of the times sometimes produced a cessation of these contests, and occasioned several truces, which insidiously concealed the bitterest enmity, and served often as a cover to the most treacherous designs. The Greeks were much divided among themselves, and disputed with great warmth concerning the lawfulness of repeated marriages, to which violent contest the case of Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*, gave rise. This emperor, having buried successively three wives without having had by them any male issue, espoused a fourth, whose name was Zoe Carbinopina, and who was born in the obscurity of a mean condition. As marriages repeated for the fourth time were held to be impure and unlawful by the Greek canons, Nicolas, the patriarch of Constantinople, suspended the Emperor, upon this occasion, from the communion of the Church. Leo, incensed at this rigorous proceeding, deprived Nicolas of the patriarchal dignity, and raised Euthymius to that office; who, though he re-admitted the Emperor to the bosom of the Church, yet opposed the decree which he had resolved to enact, in order to render fourth marriages lawful. Upon this a schism, attended with the bitterest animosities, divided the Clergy, one part of whom declared for Nicolas, the other for Euthymius. Some time after this Leo died, and was succeeded in the empire by Alexander, who deposed Euthymius, and
restored

restored Nicolas to his former rank in the Church. No sooner was the incensed patriarch re-instated in his office, than he began to load the memory of the late Emperor with the bitterest execrations and the most opprobrious invectives, and to maintain the unlawfulness of fourth marriages with the utmost obstinacy. In order to appease these tumults, which portended numberless calamities to the state, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son of Leo, convened an assembly of the Clergy of Constantinople, in the year 920, in which fourth marriages were absolutely prohibited, and marriages for the third time were permitted only on certain conditions. By those means public tranquillity was restored to the Eastern Church, the respectability of which was sensibly declining during this century, which produced few ecclesiastics of the Greek communion, who deserve to be celebrated either for their virtue or ability.

C H A P. III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH EXISTED IN THE
TENTH CENTURY.*Prevalence of Manicheism—Sect of the Anthropomorphites.*

A PERIOD which is barren in intellect and science, is commonly barren in fact. Where no spirit of inquiry is excited, there will be few departures from established forms. Of the sectaries too, who existed during the middle ages, the accounts must necessarily be imperfect. The Church was then nearly in the plenitude of its power, and little ceremony was observed in the extermination of those who disturbed its tranquillity; the inquiries which were made, concerning the faith of those whom they persecuted, we may well conceive were but superficial; nor were the historians of orthodoxy, at this unpropitious crisis, extremely qualified for transmitting their annals to posterity.

Among the Catholic writers of this century, we find many indistinct complaints of the prevalence of Manicheism, and of the disrespect of individuals towards the Romish faith. Few instances of any deviation from established opinions, and practices, have however been recorded
by

by the ecclesiastical writers of that period, except the Anthropomorphites. This sect, which arose in Egypt during the fourth century, and occasioned many disturbances in the Egyptian Church, was renewed in this, and found a few adherents amongst a superstitious people, who, accustomed to worship the Deity under a human form, were easily induced to embrace the opinion of this sect, which taking the Scripture in a literal sense, believed from the text, that "God made man in his own image," that the Supreme Being existed in a human form. This opinion, however, extended no further than Italy, where it was chiefly adopted by some of the ecclesiastical order.

C H A P. IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE
TENTH CENTURY.

Dearth of Literature in the Tenth Century—Leo, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and Gerbert—Simeon Metaphrastes, Eutychius, and Bar Cepha—Luitprand and Roswida.

THE labour of the historian must vary with his materials. Where nothing has been performed, nothing remains to be recorded. From the end of the ninth to the latter periods of the tenth century, there were few who read, and scarcely any who wrote, within the pale of the Christian Church. If the throne of the East was adorned by a Leo and a Constantine; if the papal tiara was honoured by encircling the learned brow of a Gerbert; these were singular examples, and are rather perhaps to be classed among the admirers than the professors of literature. The works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus deserve rather the name of compilations than of compositions: and of Gerbert it has been well remarked, that his genius was too extensive to admit of restraint. By endeavouring to embrace every science in an age when the means of information were scanty, he was an adept in none*: and

* Fleury.

even his mathematics, which constituted his favourite study, if compared with those of modern times, though easy and perspicuous, were rather elementary and superficial*. At the court of Constantinople about this period, there were found some voluminous, but injudicious and fabulous writers; among these was Simeon surnamed Metaphrastes, because he is said to have improved the style of the voluminous History of the Lives of the Saints. He was also the compiler of twenty-four moral discourses, extracted from the works of St. Basil, and of some other collections from St. Macarius. Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, composed an historical chronicle, extending from the creation to 937; and Moses Bar Cepha, a bishop in Syria, wrote a mystical treatise of Paradise in three books†.

The writers of the West, chiefly confined their compositions to absurd relations of the miracles performed by the saints. Amongst those who celebrated their praises, was Roswida, a nun, who composed several poems to their honour, and who has been distinguished for her style, and her knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages.

* Mosheim, cent. 10. † Du Pin.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE
ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Conversion of barbarous Nations—Kingdom of Sicily established—Power of the Clergy—Benedict VIII.—John XIX.—Benedict IX.—Sylvester III.—Gregory VI.—Clement II. Nicholas II.—New Mode of electing Popes—Alexander II.—Honorius II.—Gregory VII.—His Claims upon England resisted—Sanguinary Contest with the Emperor—Clement III.—Victor III.—Urban II.—Crusades—Pascal II.

IT has already been remarked in the history of the preceding century, that some imperfect notions of the Christian religion had been received among the Hungarians, Danes, Poles, and Russians; but the rude spirit of these nations, together with their extreme ignorance, and their violent attachment to the superstitions of their ancestors, rendered their total conversion to Christianity a work of considerable difficulty. The ardour, however, with which it was conducted, reflects much

much credit upon the piety of the princes and governors of these unpolished countries. In Tartary and the adjacent regions, the zeal and diligence of the Nestorians gained multitudes daily to the profession of Christianity. It appears also evident, from a number of unexceptionable testimonies, that metropolitan prelates, with a great number of inferior bishops under their jurisdiction, were established at this time in the provinces of Casgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, and Tangut*.

Among the European nations still immersed in their native darkness and superstition, were the Sclavonians, the Obotriti†, the Venedi‡, and the Prussians, whose conversion had been attempted, but with little or no success, by several missionaries, whose piety and earnestness were far from producing adequate effects. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, Adalbert, bishop of Prague, had endeavoured to infuse into the minds of the ferocious and uncivilized Prussians, the doctrines of the Gospel; but his attempt was unsuccessful,

* Marcus Paul. Venetus *de Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. 38. 40. 45. 47, 48, 49. 62, 63, 64; lib. ii. cap. 39.—Euseb. Renaudot *Anciennes Relations des Indes & de la Chine*, p. 420.

† The Obotriti were a great and powerful branch of the Vandals, whose kings resided in the country of Mecklenburg, and whose domination extended along the coasts of the Baltic, from the river Pene in Pomerania, to the duchy of Holstein.

‡ The Venedi dwelt upon the banks of the Weissel, or Vistula, in what is at present called, the Palatinate of Marienburg.

36 *Attempts to convert the Prussians.* [CENT. II.]

and the avenging lance of Siggo, a Pagan priest, terminated his conflict with this race of barbarians*. Boleslaus, king of Poland, revenged the death of this pious apostle, by entering into a sanguinary war with the Prussians, and he obtained by the force of penal laws, and of a victorious army, what Adalbert could not effect by exhortation and argument†. This violent method of conversion, so little consistent with the doctrines it was intended to promote, was, however, accompanied by others of a gentler kind, and the attendants of Boleslaus seconded the military arguments of their prince, by the more persuasive influence of admonition and instruction. An ecclesiastic of illustrious birth, whose name was Boniface, and who was one of the disciples of St. Romauld, undertook to instruct the Prussians in the doctrines of Christianity, and was succeeded in this pious enterprise by Bruno‡, who, accompanied by eighteen of his friends, and authorised by the Pope, John XVII. departed from Germany in order to prosecute this laudable

* See the *Acta Sanctor.* ad d. xxiii. Aprilis, p. 174.

† Solignac, *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 133.

‡ Fleury differs from Dr. Mosheim in his account of *Bruno*, in two points. First, he maintains, that *Boniface* and *Bruno* were one and the same person, and here he is possibly in the right; but he maintains farther, that he suffered martyrdom in Russia, in which he is evidently mistaken. It is proper farther to admonish the reader to distinguish carefully the *Bruno* here mentioned, from a monk of the same name, who founded the order of the Carthusians.

design.

design. The arguments of Adalbert and Boniface appear however to have had very transient effects upon their auditors ; for the zealous Bruno and his associates, were all barbarously massacred by the rude and inflexible Prussians, whom neither the vigorous efforts of Boleslaus, nor those of the succeeding kings of Poland, could persuade to abandon totally the idolatry of their ancestors*.

Sicily had remained under the dominion of the Saracens since the ninth century. In the year 1059, Robert Guiscard, who had formed a settlement in Italy, at the head of a Norman colony, and was afterwards created Duke of Apulia, stimulated by the exhortations of Pope Nicholas II. and seconded by the assistance of his brother Roger, attacked with the greatest vigour and intrepidity the Mussulmans in Sicily ; nor did the latter sheath his victorious sword, before he had rendered himself master of that island, and cleared it absolutely of its former tyrants. This enterprise was no sooner achieved, than Roger restored the Christian religion to the splendour it had formerly enjoyed. Bishoprics were established, monasteries founded, and magnificent churches erected throughout the island. The clergy were endowed by him with those immense revenues, and those distinguished honours, which they still enjoy†. In the privileges

* Ant. Pagi *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv. *ad Annum* 1008, p. 97.—Christ. Hartnock's *Ecclesiastical Historical History of Prussia*, book 1. ch. 1. p. 12.

† See Burigni, *Histoire Generale de la Sicile*, tom. i. p. 386.

conferred on this valiant chief, we find the origin of that supreme authority in matters of religion, which is still vested in the kings of Sicily, within the limits of their own territories, and which is known by the name of the *Sicilian Monarchy*; for Urban II. is recorded to have granted, in 1097, by a special diploma, to Roger, and his successors, the title, authority, and prerogatives of hereditary legates of the Apostolic See. The court of Rome denies, however, the authenticity of this diploma, and in consequence of the pretensions to supremacy advanced by the Popes, many violent contentions have arisen between the pontiffs of Rome, and the kings of Sicily. The successors of Roger governed that island, under the titles of Dukes, until the twelfth century, when it was erected into a kingdom*.

The power, opulence, and splendour of the Church, had in this century nearly attained their zenith. The western bishops were elevated to the rank of Dukes, Counts, and Nobles, and enriched with ample territories; the terrors of excommunication were denounced against the offender who should impiously offer violence to one of these spiritual rulers. Many of the inferior clergy attained to considerable opulence, and the canons published against that order prove at least that their licentiousness kept pace with their increasing

* See Baronii *Liber de Monarchia Siciliae*, tom. xi. *Annal.* as also Du Pin, *Traité de la Monarchie Sicilienne*.

wealth.* The Grecian clergy were perhaps rather less disorderly from the calamities with which their country was oppressed, and which imposed a restraint upon their passions. Yet, notwithstanding these salutary checks, there were few examples of exalted piety to be found among them.

The Roman pontiffs were in this century generally and permanently decorated with the pompous titles of the *Masters of the world*, and *Popes*, or *Universal fathers*; they presided every where in the councils by their legates; and assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies which arose concerning religion or church discipline. Not satisfied, however, with the character of supreme legislators in the church, they assumed that of Lords of the universe, Arbiters of the fate of kingdoms and empires, and Supreme rulers of the kings and princes of the earth. The example of this usurpation was first afforded by Leo IX. who granted to the Normans the lands and territories which they had seized in Italy, or were endeavouring to force out of the hands of the Greeks and Saracens†. The ambition, however, of the aspiring popes was opposed by the emperors, the kings of France, by William the Conqueror, and

* There were, however, some instances of strict piety and sobriety to be found amongst the superior as well as inferior orders. When Bouchard, Bishop of Worms died, the inventory of his goods consisted of a hair shirt, an iron chain for a belt, and three deniers in money. *Fortin*, 5. v. 24.

† Mosh.

by several other princes, as well as by some of the bishops in France and Germany,

Benedict VIII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1012, through the interest of his father the count of Frescati, experienced no less than some of his predecessors the turbulent spirit of the times. Several of the Roman people, disapproving his election, chose in opposition to him a person of the name of Gregory, by whom he was compelled to leave Rome. Thus situated, Benedict fled into Germany, and implored the assistance of Henry II. by whom he was reinstated in the Apostolic chair, which he possessed in peace until the year 1024. He was succeeded by his brother, who, though not at that time in orders, obtained the papal chair by the same influence to which Benedict had owed his promotion*. The death of John XIX. introduced to the pontificate his nephew, Benedict IX. an abandoned profligate, who also was chosen by bribery, and whose flagitious conduct incurred the just resentment of the Romans, who in the year 1038, degraded him from his office. He was afterwards indeed restored by the Emperor Conrad to the papal chair; but adversity had so little produced its usual effects, circumspection and prudence, that, irritated by his repeated crimes, the populace deposed him a second time in 1044, and elected in his place John bishop*

* * Jortin's Remarks, 5. v. 25, and 31.

of Sabina, who assumed the name of Sylvester III. The newly elected pontiff had, however, a very transitory enjoyment of his dignity : in about three months after his elevation, the powerful family of Frescati again rose in arms, assembled their adherents, drove Sylvester out of the city, and restored the degraded Benedict to his forfeited honours; but, perceiving the impossibility of appeasing the resentment of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to John Gratian, arch-presbyter of Rome, who took the name of Gregory VI. and carried his martial rage so far, that he acquired the additional epithet of Bloody*. Thus the Church had, at the same time, three chiefs, Benedict, Sylvester, and Gregory; but the contest was terminated in the year 1046, in the council held at Sutri, by the emperor Henry III. who ordered that the rival pontiffs should all be declared unworthy of the papal chair; and Suidgar, bishop of Bamberg, was raised to that dignity, which he enjoyed for a short time under the title of Clement II. The refractory Benedict continued for several years to disturb the tranquillity of his successors in the popedom; nor did his decease terminate the efforts of the turbulent house of Frescati. Amongst the seven popes who succeeded Clement II. the last only, Nicholas II. is entitled to notice. This pontiff assembled a council at Rome, in 1059, in which, among many salutary laws designed to heal the inveterate

* Jortin's Remarks, 5. v. 34.

disorders which had afflicted the Church, one remarkable decree was passed for changing the ancient form of electing the Roman pontiff. Nearly about the same time he received the homage of the Normans, and solemnly created Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on condition that he should observe, as a faithful vassal, an inviolable allegiance to the Roman Church, and pay an annual tribute in acknowledgment of his subjection to the Apostolic See.

Before the pontificate of Nicholas II. the popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the cardinals*, but also by those of the whole Roman

* About the end of the ninth century, the term of Cardinal is first met with, as cardinal priests and cardinal deacons; but they were then in many other churches besides that of Rome. In the eighth century these cardinal priests held no considerable rank, nor were they admitted into the councils till 764. In the eleventh century the cardinals appear to be necessarily joined with the clergy in the election of a pope: and about 100 years after this, they obtained in the manner now related, that they should have the sole nomination; and by degrees have become the pope's great council. In 1244, Innocent IV. ordered, that when the cardinals rode out, they should wear a red hat, to shew that they were ready to shed their blood in the cause of the church. In 1471, Paul II. ordained that they should wear robes of scarlet. All other persons, and even kings and emperors, must kiss only the pope's toe, but the cardinals kiss his hands and mouth. If a cardinal accidentally meet a man going to execution, he has a power of saving his life; and it is said, that none of them can be condemned for a crime under 72 witnesses if he be a cardinal bishop; 62, if he be a cardinal priest; and 27 if he be a cardinal deacon. *Hist. of Popery*, vol. iii. p. 53.

clergy;

clergy, the nobility, the burgesſes, and the aſſembly of the people. An election in which ſuch a confuſed and jarring multitude was concerned, could not fail to produce continual factions, animofities, and tumults. To prevent theſe, as far as was poſſible, this provident pontiff paſſed a law, by which the cardinals, as well preſbyters as biſhops, were impowered, upon a vacancy in the ſee of Rome, to elect a new pope, without any prejudice to the ancient privileges of the Roman emperors in this important matter. It does not however appear that the reſt of the clergy, with the burgesſes and people, were utterly excluded from all part in this election, ſince their conſent was ſolemnly demanded, and even eſteemed of much weight : but that in conſequence of this new regulation, the cardinals acted the principal part in the creation of the new pontiff ; though they ſuffered for a long time much oppoſition both from the ſacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were conſtantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abuſing the privilege they yet retained of confirming the election of every new pope by their approbation and conſent. In the following century theſe diſputes were terminated by Alexander III. who completed what Nicholas had only begun, and transferred and confined to the College of Cardinals the right of electing to the Apoſtolic See, to the excluſion of the nobility, the people, and the reſt of the clergy. The decree of Nicholas comprehends

comprehends the seven Roman bishops, who were considered as the *suffragans*, and of whom the bishop of Ostia was the chief, together with the eight-and-twenty ministers, who had inspection over the principal Roman churches : to these were afterwards added, under Alexander III. and other pontiffs, new members, in order to appease the resentment of those who considered themselves as injured by the edict of Nicholas, and also to answer the other purposes of ecclesiastical policy.

Though Nicholas II. had expressly acknowledged and confirmed in his edict the right of the emperor to ratify by his consent the election of the pontiff; his eyes were no sooner closed, than the Romans, at the instigation of Hildebrand, archdeacon, and afterwards bishop of Rome, violated this imperial privilege. They not only elected to the pontificate Anselm bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II. but also solemnly installed him in his office without consulting the emperor Henry IV. or giving him the least information of the matter. Agnes, the mother of the young emperor, no sooner received an account of this irregular transaction by the bishops of Lombardy, to whom the election of Anselm was extremely unacceptable, than she assembled a council at Basil, and, in order to maintain the authority of her son, who was yet a minor, caused Cadolaus, bishop of Parma, to be elected Pope, under the title of Honorius II. Hence arose a long

and furious contest between the two rival pontiffs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms. In this violent contention Alexander triumphed, though he could never engage his obstinate adversary to desist from his pretensions*.

This contest, however, appears of little consequence when viewed in comparison with the dreadful commotions which Hildebrand, who succeeded Alexander, and assumed the name of Gregory VII. excited both in church and state. This vehement pontiff, who was a Tuscan of obscure birth, rose, by degrees, from the obscure station of a monk of Clugni, to the rank of archdeacon in the Roman church; and, from the time of Leo IX. who treated him with peculiar marks of distinction, was accustomed to govern the Roman pontiffs by his councils. In the year 1073, and on the same day in which Alexander was interred, he was raised to the pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people, and consequently, without any regard being paid to the edict of Nicholas II. and his election was confirmed by the approbation and consent of Henry IV. King of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. Hildebrand was a man

* Ferdin. Ughelli *Italia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 166. Jo. Jac. Mascovius, *de Rebus Imperii sub Henrico IV. et V.* lib. i. p. 7. Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Pontificum Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 383.—Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 214.

of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in reducing them to execution. Sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he is suspected even of aspiring to the summit of universal empire; and indeed he appears to have laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardour and invincible perseverance. No sooner did he find himself in the papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most odious marks of his tyrannical ambition. Not content to enlarge the jurisdiction and to augment the opulence of the see of Rome, he laboured indefatigably to render the universal Church subject to the despotic government and the arbitrary power of the pontiff alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, and to exclude them from all part in the management or distribution of the revenues of the Church; and, unsatisfied even with this object, he proceeded to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes, and to render their dominions tributary to the Roman see.

The state of Europe during this period was peculiarly favourable to the projects of the aspiring pontiff. The empire of Germany was weak;
France

France was governed by a young and dissipated monarch, little qualified, and little disposed, to conduct affairs of state ; a great part of Spain was under the dominion of the Moors ; the kingdoms of the north were newly converted ; Italy, governed by a number of petty princes, and England recently conquered by the Normans. In such a juncture, Hildebrand met with little opposition to his ambitious designs ; and that such were his designs is undoubtedly evident, both from his own epistles, and from other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath which he drew up for the King or Emperor of the Romans, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance, abundantly displays the arrogance of his pretensions. But his conduct towards the kingdom of France demands particular attention. It is an undisputed fact, that whatever dignity and dominion the Popes enjoyed was originally derived from that kingdom, or, which is the same thing, from the princes of that nation ; and yet Hildebrand, or (according to his papal appellation) Gregory VII. pretended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the see of Rome, and commanded his legates to demand yearly, in the most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute. Their demands, however, were treated with contempt, and the tribute was never either acknowledged or offered. Nothing, indeed, escaped the ambition of the aspiring pontiff. Saxony was claimed by him

him as a feudal tenure held in subjection to the see of Rome, to which it had been formerly yielded by Charlemagne as a pious offering to St. Peter. He extended also his pretensions to the kingdom of Spain, maintaining in one of his letters that it was the property of the Apostolic See from the earliest times of the Church; yet with the usual inconsistency of falsehood, he acknowledged in another, that the transaction by which the successors of St. Peter had acquired this property had been lost among other ancient records. The despotic views of this pontiff met in England with a degree of opposition to which they had been little accustomed in other countries of Europe. William the Conqueror was a prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as an independent sovereign. Policy, however, demanded some concessions to the authority of the Pontiff, and the prudent monarch determined upon a line of conduct which might evince his submission without diminishing his authority. The claims of Gregory to the arrears of *Peter-pence* were therefore readily acceded to; but his demand of homage for the kingdom of England, which he asserted was a fief of the Apostolic See, was obstinately refused by the haughty Norman, who intrepidly declared that he held his kingdom of God only and his own sword*.

* Collier's Ecc. Hist. iv. 1713.

Demetrius Suinimer, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was raised to the rank and prerogatives of royalty by this pontiff in the year 1076, and solemnly proclaimed King by his legate at Salona, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold to St. Peter at every Easter festival.

The kingdom of Poland became also the object of Gregory's aspiring views, and a favourable occasion was offered for the accomplishment of his designs; for Basilaus II. having assassinated Stanislaus bishop of Cracow, the pontiff excommunicated and dethroned the monarch, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken, and, by an express and imperious edict, prohibited the nobles and clergy of Poland from electing a new king without the consent of the Apostolic See *.

The plan which Gregory had formed for raising the Church above all human authority, encountered the most insurmountable opposition in the two reigning vices of *concubinage* and *simony*, which had infected the whole body of the European Clergy. The Roman pontiffs, from the time of Stephen IX. had combated with zeal and vehemence these monstrous enormities, but without success. Gregory, however, not discouraged, exerted himself with much more vigour than his predecessors. He assembled a council at Rome in

* See Dlugoffi Histor. Polon. tom. i. p. 295.

1074, in which all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony* were renewed and confirmed, and the purchase and sale of ecclesiastical benefices prohibited in the strictest and severest manner. This decree, which in itself was prudent and just, was unfortunately connected with another, obliging the priests to abstain from marriage, which was absurdly deemed inconsistent with the sanctity of their office. This absurd regulation no sooner made its appearance than it was opposed by a considerable number of the clergy who were either connected by legal ties, or who lived in a state of concubinage, and the most alarming tumults were excited in the greatest part of the European provinces. This vehement contest was gradually calmed through length of time, and by the perseverance of the obstinate pontiff; nor did any of the European kings and princes concern themselves so much about the marriages of the clergy as to maintain their cause, or prolong the controversy*.

* The celibacy of the clergy, though a doctrine much insisted upon at this period, is of doubtful origin, and we have reason to believe was irregular in its progress, being adopted in some countries much earlier than in others. In the reign of Henry II. of England (1174) some English bishops, lately elected, appeared at Rome for the purpose of procuring their confirmation. The Pope, displeased that all who required confirmation were not present, inquired why the elect of Ely was not there? To this the king's ambassador replied, "An it please your holiness, he has a gospel excuse." "What is that?" said the Pope. "He has married a wife," rejoined the ambassador, "and therefore he cannot come." Hovedon, fol. 307. In

But the troubles which arose from the law that regarded the extirpation of *simony* were not so easily appeased; the tumults it occasioned were daily increased; the methods of reconciliation more difficult; and in many countries it involved both State and Church, during several years, in the deepest calamities, and the most complicated scenes of confusion. Henry IV. received indeed graciously the legates of Gregory, and applauded his zeal for the extirpation of *simony*; but neither this prince nor the German bishops would permit these legates to assemble a council in Germany, or to proceed judicially against those who had been charged with simoniacal practices. The pontiff, exasperated at this restraint in the execution of his designs, convened

1175, however, the synod of the province of Canterbury forbade the marriage of the clergy under penalty of deprivation.

Notwithstanding this, there is still reason to believe, that in many countries the marriage of clergymen was permitted till near the close of the 13th century. The 14th canon of the fourth Lateran council (A. D. 1215), which provides against the incontinency of the clergy, declares that those who have the liberty of marriage, according to the custom of their country, should be punished for licentiousness with greater severity. Hence it is evident that the marriage of priests was allowed by this council in certain countries. It is worthy of remark also, that the patriarch of Constantinople was present at this council, and several other Greek bishops, who always allowed the marriage of the clergy under certain restrictions; and a Greek translation of these Canons was made for the service of that church. Matt. Paris, 172. Council. T. II, col. 125, et deinceps.

another council at Rome in the year 1075, in which he pursued his adventurous project with greater impetuosity and vehemence than before, and not only excluded from the communion of the church several German and Italian bishops, and several favourites of Henry, whose councils that prince was said to make use of in the traffic of ecclesiastical dignities, but also pronounced, in a formal edict, *Anathema against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the hands of a layman, as also against those by whom the investiture should be performed* *.

The severe law which had been enacted against *investitures*, by the influence and attention of Gregory, made very little impression upon Henry. He acknowledged himself wrong in exposing ecclesiastical benefices to sale, and he promised amendment in that respect; but remained inflexible against all attempts which were made to persuade him to resign his power of creating bishops and abbots, and the right of *investiture* which was intimately connected with this important privilege. Had the emperor been assisted by the German princes, he might have maintained this refusal with dignity and success, but unhappily he was not; a considerable number of these princes,

* Ant. Pagi *Critica* in *Baronium*, tom. iii. ad A. 1075.—Hen. Norris, *Hist. Investiturarum*, p. 39.—Christ. Lupus, *Scholia et Dissertation. ad Consilia*, tom. vi. opp. p. 39—44.

and among others the states of Saxony, were the secret or declared enemies of Henry; and this furnished Gregory with a favourable opportunity of extending his authority and executing his ambitious projects. This opportunity was by no means neglected; the Pope took occasion, from those discords that divided the empire, to insult and depress its chief; he sent, by his legates, an insolent message to the emperor at Goslar, ordering him to repair immediately to Rome, and exculpate himself before a council, there to be assembled, of the various crimes that were laid to his charge. The emperor, whose high spirit could ill brook such arrogant treatment, was filled with indignation at the sight of that insolent mandate, and, in the vehemence of just resentment, summoned without delay a council of German bishops at Worms, where Gregory was charged with several flagitious practices, deposed from the pontificate, of which he was declared unworthy, and an order issued for the election of a new pontiff. Gregory opposed violence to violence; no sooner had he received, by the letters and ambassadors of Henry, an account of the sentence which had been pronounced against him, than he began to thunder his anathemas at the head of that prince, and excluded him both from the communion of the church and from the throne of his ancestors. Thus the civil and ecclesiastical powers were divided into great factions, of which one maintained the rights

34 *Humiliation of the Emperor Henry IV.* [CENT. II.]

of the emperor, while the other supported the views of the pontiff.

At the commencement of the war, the Swabian chiefs, with duke Rodolph at their head, revolted against Henry; and the Saxon princes, whose former quarrels with the emperor had been lately terminated by their defeat and submission, followed their example. These united powers being solicited by the pope to elect a new emperor, provided Henry persisted in his obstinate disobedience to the orders of the church, met at Tribur in the year 1076, to consult concerning a matter of such high importance. When affairs were arrived at this desperate extremity, and the faction, which was formed against this unfortunate prince, grew daily more formidable, his friends advised him to proceed to Italy, and implore in person the clemency of the pontiff. The emperor yielded to this ignominious counsel, without, however, obtaining from his voyage the advantages he expected. He passed the Alps amidst the rigour of a severe winter, arrived in the month of February 1077, at the fortress of Canusium, where the pope resided at that time with the young Matilda, countess of Tuscany, the most powerful patroness of the church, and the most affectionate of the spiritual daughters of Gregory*. Here the sup-

* The enemies of the pope accused him of a criminal correspondence with this lady. Lambertus the historian says, it was a mere calumny, and gives this admirable proof, "That Gregory

pliant prince, unmindful of his dignity, stood, during three days, in the open air, at the entrance of the fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment than a piece of coarse woollen cloth thrown over his body. The fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the pontiff, who, not without difficulty, granted him the absolution he demanded; but with respect to his restoration to the throne, he refused to determine that point before the approaching congress, at which he made Henry promise to appear, forbidding him, at the same time, to assume, during this interval, the title of king, or to exercise the functions of royalty. This opprobrious convention however excited, and that justly, the indignation of the princes and bishops of Italy, who would undoubtedly have deposed Henry, had he not diminished their resentment by violating the convention into which he had been forced to enter with the imperious pontiff, and resuming the title, and other marks of royalty, which he had been obliged to lay down. On the other hand, the confederate princes of Swabia and Saxony were no sooner informed of this unexpected change in the conduct of Henry, than they assembled at Forcheim in the month of March, 1077, and unanimously elected Rodolph, duke of Swabia, emperor in his room.

This rash collision rekindled the flames of war

Gregory wrought many miracles, and therefore could not be a fornicator." Jortin 5, v. 41.

in Germany and Italy, and involved, for a long period, those unhappy regions in every variety of misery. In Italy the Normans, who were masters of the lower parts of that country, and the armies of the powerful and valiant Matilda, maintained successfully the cause of Gregory against the Lombards, who espoused the interests of Henry; while this unfortunate prince, with all the forces he could assemble, carried on the war in Germany against Rodolph and the confederate princes. Gregory, considering the events of war as extremely doubtful, was at first afraid to declare for either party, and therefore observed, for some time, an appearance of neutrality; but encouraged by the battle of Fludenheim, in which Henry was defeated by the Saxons, 1086, he again excommunicated that vanquished prince, and, sending a crown to the victor Rodolph, declared him lawful king of the Germans. The injured emperor did not permit this new insult to pass unpunished; seconded by the suffrages of several of the Italian and German bishops, he deposed Gregory a second time in a council which met at Mentz, and in a synod soon after assembled at Brixen, in the province of Tirol, raised to the pontificate Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III. when consecrated at Rome, 1084, four years after his election.

This election was followed by a dreadful battle, fought upon the banks of the river Ebster, in
which

which Rodolph received a mortal wound, and died a short time after at Merfburgh. The emperor, being now relieved from this formidable enemy, marched directly into Italy; the following year (1081) he made several campaigns, with different success, against the valiant troops of Matilda; and, after having twice raised the siege of Rome, he resumed a third time that bold enterprise, and became at length master of the greater part of that city, in the year 1084. The first step of Henry, after this success, was to place Guibert in the papal chair; after which he received the imperial crown from the hands of the new pontiff, was saluted emperor by the Roman people, and laid close siege to the castle of St. Angelo, whither his mortal enemy Gregory had fled for safety. He was, however, forced to raise this siege, by the valour of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, who brought Gregory in triumph to Rome; but not supposing him safe there, conducted him afterwards to Salernum. In this place the turbulent and celebrated Gregory ended his days in the following year 1085, and left Europe involved in those calamities which were the fatal effects of his boundless ambition.

The death of Gregory neither restored peace to the church, nor tranquillity to the state; the tumults and divisions which he had excited still continued, and they were constantly augmented by the same passions to which they owed their origin. Clement

III. who was the emperor's pontiff, was master of the city of Rome, and was acknowledged as pope by a great part of Italy. Henry carried on the war in Germany against the confederate princes. The faction of Gregory, supported by the Normans, chose for his successor, in the year 1086, Diderick, abbot of Mount Cassin, who adopted the title of Victor III. and was reluctantly consecrated in the church of St. Peter, in the year 1087, when that part of the city was recovered by the Normans for the new pontiff. The character of Victor was a perfect contrast to that of his predecessor Gregory. He was modest and timorous; and finding the papal chair beset with factions, and the city of Rome under the dominion of his competitor, he retired to his monastery, where soon after he ended his days in peace. Before his abdication, however, he held a council at Benevento, where he confirmed and renewed the laws which Gregory had enacted for the abolition of *investitures*.

Otho, bishop of Ostia, and monk of Clugni, was, by Victor's recommendation, chosen to succeed him, and assumed the name of Urban II. Inferior to Gregory in fortitude and resolution, he was his equal in arrogance and pride, and surpassed him greatly in imprudence and temerity. The commencement of his pontificate had a fair aspect, and success seemed to smile upon his undertakings; but upon the emperor's return into Italy in the year 1090, victory again crowned the arms of that prince, who,

who, by redoubled efforts of valour, defeated at length Guelph, duke of Bavaria, and the celebrated Matilda, who were the formidable heads of the papal faction. The abominable treachery of his son Conrad, who, yielding to the seduction of his father's enemies, revolted against him, and, by the advice and assistance of Urban and Matilda, usurped the kingdom of Italy, revived the drooping spirits of that faction, who hoped to see the laurels of the emperor blasted by this odious and unnatural rebellion. The consequences, however, of this event were less fatal to Henry than his enemies expected. In the mean time, the troubles of Italy still continued, nor could Urban, with all his efforts, reduce the city of Rome under his yoke.

But the views not only of Urban but of all Christendom were now diverted to another enterprise. The popes, from the time of Sylvester II. had been forming plans for extending the limits of the church in Asia, and especially for expelling the Mahometans from Palestine; but the troubles, in which Europe had been so long involved, prevented the execution of these arduous designs. Gregory VII. the most enterprising pontiff that ever filled the apostolic chair, animated and inflamed by the complaints which the Asiatic Christians made of the cruelty of the Saracens, resolved to undertake in person a holy war, for the deliverance of the church, and upwards of fifty thousand men were

already

already mustered to follow him in this bold expedition*. But his quarrel with the emperor, and other unforeseen occurrences, obliged him to lay aside his intended invasion of the Holy Land. The project, however, was renewed, towards the conclusion of this century, by the enthusiastic zeal of an inhabitant of Amiens, who was known by the name of Peter the Hermit, and who suggested to pope Urban II. the means of accomplishing what had been unfortunately suspended. The ancestors of Peter had ranked as gentlemen, and his military service was under the neighbouring counts of Boulogne, the heroes of the first crusade. But he soon relinquished the sword and the world. In a voyage which he made through Palestine, 1093, he had observed with inexpressible anguish the vexations and persecutions which the Christians, who visited the holy places, suffered from the barbarous and tyrannic Saracens. Inflamed, therefore, with indignation and zeal, which he considered as the effect of a divine impulse, he implored the assistance of Simeon, patriarch of Constantinople, and Urban II. but without success. Far from being discouraged by this, he renewed his efforts, and went through all the countries of Europe, exhorting all Christian princes to draw the sword against

* Gregorii VII. *Epist.* lib. ii. 3. in Harduini *Conciliis*, tom. vi. part I. p. 1285.

the tyrants of Palestine. His diet was abstemious, his prayers long and fervent, and the alms which he received with one hand, he distributed with the other: his head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapt in a coarse garment; he bore and displayed a weighty crucifix; and the ass on which he rode, was sanctified in the public eye by the service of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the high-ways: the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people, for all was people, was impetuously moved by his call to repentance and arms. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation, when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren and rescue their Saviour: his ignorance of art and language was compensated by sighs, and tears, and ejaculations; and Peter supplied the deficiency of reason by loud and frequent appeals to Christ and his mother, to the saints and angels of Paradise, with whom he had personally conversed. It would have been to his honour to have used no other artifices; but it is said that, with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried about with him a letter, which he affirmed was written in heaven, and addressed to all true Christians to animate their zeal for the

62 *Councils of Placentia and Clermont.* [CENT. III]

deliverance of their brethren, who groaned under the burthen of a Mahometan yoke*.

The minds of the people being thus prepared by the exhortations of the hermit, a grand and numerous council was assembled by Urban at Placentia, A. D. 1095, and the pontiff recommended warmly, for the first time, the sacred expedition against the infidel Saracens†. But this arduous enterprise was far from being approved by the greatest part of this numerous assembly, notwithstanding the presence of the emperor's legates. In this council, the decrees of Gregory were confirmed; and the conduct of Urban, with respect to the investitures, was rather calculated to exasperate than to appease.

Though disappointed at Placentia, Urban renewed his proposal for a holy war, in a council which was afterwards assembled at Clermont, where he himself was present. The pompous and pathetic speech, which he delivered upon the occasion, made a deep and powerful impression upon the minds of the French, whose natural character renders them much superior to the Italians in encountering difficulties, facing danger, and attempting the execution of the most perilous designs.

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

† This council was the most numerous of any that had been hitherto assembled, and was, on that account, held in the open fields. There were present at it two hundred bishops, four thousand ecclesiastics, and three thousand laymen.

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The warriors of this nation were not, however, the only auditors who were impressed by the eloquence of Urban. An incredible multitude, among whom were many of rank, devoted themselves to the service of the *cross*, which was made the symbol of the expedition, and which, worked in red worsted, was worn on the breasts or shoulders of the adventurers*. Every motive was used by the court of Rome to increase the numbers. A plenary indulgence was proclaimed in the council of Clermont to those who should enlist under the cross, and a full absolution of *all* their sins.

The 15th of August, 1096, had been fixed in the council of Clermont, for the departure of the pilgrims: but the day was anticipated by a thoughtless and needy crowd of plebeians. Early in the spring, from the confines of France and Lorraine, above sixty thousand of the populace of both sexes flocked round the first missionary of the crusade, and pressed him with clamorous importunity to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The hermit, assuming the character, without the talents or authority, of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate, and his lieutenant, Walter the Penniless, a valiant though needy soldier, conducted a vanguard of pilgrims, whose

* Hence the name *crusade*.

condition may be determined from the proportion of eight horsemen to fifteen thousand foot. The example and footsteps of Peter were closely pursued by another fanatic, the monk Godescal, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. Their rear was again pressed by an herd of two hundred thousand, the most stupid and savage refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness. Some counts and gentlemen, at the head of three thousand horse, attended the motions of the multitude to partake in the spoil; but their genuine leaders (may we credit such folly?) were a goose and a goat, who were carried in the front, and to whom these worthy Christians ascribed an infusion of the Divine Spirit*.

Of this rabble more than two thirds were consumed by the Hungarians, &c. during their journey. The remainder escaped to Constantinople, where their ingratitude to the emperor Alexius, and their tumultuous conduct, induced that monarch to allure them to the other side of the Bosphorus; but their blind impetuosity soon urged them to desert this station, and to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road to Jerusalem. In the plain of Nice they were overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows; and from the beginning to the end of this

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, &c.

expedition,

expedition, 300,000 perished, before a single city was rescued from the Infidels, and before their graver and more noble brethren had completed their preparations.

The armies which were conducted by illustrious commanders, distinguished by their birth and their military endowments, arrived more happily at the capital of the Grecian empire. That which was commanded by Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, who deserves a place among the greatest heroes, whether of ancient or modern times, and by his brother Baldwin, was composed of eighty thousand well chosen troops, horse and foot, and directed its march through Germany and Hungary. Another, which was headed by Raimond, earl of Toulouse, passed through the Sclavonian territories. Robert, earl of Flanders, Robert, duke of Normandy, Hugo, brother to Philip I. king of France, embarked their respective forces in a fleet which was assembled at Brundisi and Tarento, whence they were transported to Durazzo, anciently Dyrrachium. These armies were followed by Boemond, duke of Apulia and Calabria, at the head of a chosen and numerous body of valiant Normans.

This army was the greatest, and, in outward appearance, the most formidable that had been known in the memory of man; and though, before its arrival at Constantinople, it was diminished considerably by the difficulties and oppositions it had met with on the way; yet, such as it was, it made the

Grecian emperor tremble, and filled his mind with the most anxious and alarming apprehensions of some secret design against his dominions. His fears, however, were dispelled, when he saw these legions pass the streights of Gallipolis, and direct their march towards Bithynia.

The first successful enterprise which was formed against the Infidels, was the siege of Nice, the capital of Bithynia. This city was taken in the year 1097, and the victorious army proceeded thence into Syria, and, in the following year, subdued Antioch, which, with its fertile territory, was granted by the assembled chiefs, to Boemond, duke of Apulia. Edessa fell next into the hands of the victors, and became the property of Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon. The conquest of Jerusalem, which, after a siege of five weeks, submitted to their arms in the year 1099, seemed to crown their expedition with the desired success. In this city were laid the foundations of a new kingdom, at the head of which was placed the famous Godfrey, whom the army saluted king of Jerusalem with an unanimous voice. But this illustrious hero, whose other eminent qualities were adorned with the most perfect modesty, refused that high title, though he governed Jerusalem with a degree of valour, equity, and prudence, which places him higher in the records of virtue than most founders of empires. Having chosen a small army to support him in his new dignity, he permitted
the

the rest of the troops to return into Europe. He did not, however, enjoy long the fruits of a victory, in which his heroic valour had been so gloriously displayed, but died about a year after the conquest of Jerusalem, leaving his dominions to his brother Baldwin, prince of Edeffa, who assumed the title of king without the smallest hesitation.

Splendid as were these holy wars in appearance, they, however, were not less prejudicial to the cause of religion, and the true interests of the Christian Church, than they were to the temporal concerns of men. One of the first and most pernicious effects was the enormous augmentation of the influence and authority of the Roman pontiffs; they also contributed, in various ways, to enrich the churches and monasteries with daily accessions of wealth, and to open new sources of opulence to all the sacerdotal orders. For they who assumed the cross, disposed of their property as if they were at the point of death, and left a considerable part of their possessions to the priests and monks, with a view of obtaining by these *pious* legacies, the favour and protection of the Almighty* in their new undertaking. Such of them also as had been engaged in suits of law with the priests or monks, renounced

* See Plessis, *Hist. de Meaux*, tom. ii. p. 76. 79. 141. — *Gal-
lia Christiana*, tom. ii. *Append.* p. 31. — Du Fresne, *Nota ad
Vitam Ludovici Sancti*, p. 52. Le Beuf, *Memoires pour l'Histoire
d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. *Append.* p. 34.

their pretensions, and submissively resigned whatever had been the subject of debate. And others, who had seized upon any of the possessions of the churches or convents, or heard of any injury which had been committed against the clergy, by the remotest of their ancestors, made the most liberal restitution, or the most ample satisfaction for the real or pretended injuries they had committed against the Church, by rich and costly donations*.

Nor were these the only unhappy effects of the holy expeditions. For while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword upon their thigh, and proceeded as generals, volunteers, or chaplains into Palestine, the priests and monks, who had lived under their jurisdiction, and were awed by their authority, felt themselves released from restraint, and lived without order or discipline. The list of pretended saints was greatly augmented; and the greatest impositions arose from the importation of an immense quantity of relics by the adventurers in the crusade†.

It

* Du Fresne, l. c. p. 52.

† Richard king of England bought, in the year 1191, from the famous Saladin, all the relics that were found in Jerusalem, as appears from the testimony of Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 138, who tells us also, p. 666 of the same work, that the Dominicans brought from Palestine a white stone, in which Jesus Christ had left the print of his feet. The Genoese pretend to have received from Baldwin, second king of Jerusalem, the very dish in which the paschal lamb was served up to Christ and his disciples at the last supper; though this famous dish excites the laughter

It is, however, some compensation for these evils that something was eventually gained in science, and something in freedom, by these warlike pilgrimages. The arts and manufactures of the east were introduced into Europe, and a spirit of enterprise, which probably led to the cultivation of commerce, was excited. Before the æra of the crusades, "the larger portion of the inhabitants in Europe," says Mr. Gibbon, "was chained to the soil, without freedom, or property, or knowledge; and the two orders of ecclesiastics and nobles, whose numbers were comparatively small, alone deserved the name of citizens and men. This oppressive system was supported by the arts of the clergy, and the swords of the barons. The authority of the priests operated indeed in the darker ages as a salutary antidote; they prevented the total extinction of letters, mitigated the fierceness of the times, sheltered the poor and defenceless, and preserved or revived the peace and order of civil society. But the independence, rapine, and discord of the feudal lords were unmixed with any semblance of good; and every hope of industry and improvement was crushed by the iron weight of martial aristocracy. Among the causes that undermined that Gothic edifice, a conspicuous place must be allowed to the crusades. The estates of the barons were dissipated, and their race was often extinguished, in these

laughter of even father Labat, in his *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. ii. p. 63.

costly and perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The conflagration which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest, gave air and scope to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive plants of the soil*."

After his expedition to Clermont, Urban returned into Italy, where he made himself master of the castle of St. Angelo, and soon after ended his days in the year 1099. He was not long survived by his antagonist Clement III. who died the following year, and left at the close of this century Raynier, a benedictine monk, who assumed the name of Paschal II. sole possessor of the papal chair.

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. 4.

C H A P. II.

OF MANNERS, DOCTRINE, RITES AND CEREMONIES, IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Miracles—Flagellation for Sin—Contests concerning Roman and Gothic Rituals—rebuilding Churches—Carthusian Order—Cistercians.

IN a period of superstition and credulity it can excite little surprise, that the crafty and designing should procure advantages to themselves by the assistance of deception and fraud. A number of miracles were accordingly invented, and false prophets appeared. One Licutard in particular, a poor and ignorant man, pretending to inspiration, seduced a number of persons in the diocese of Chalons in France. He had been asleep in the field, and imagined that a swarm of bees had entered his body, which, after tormenting and stinging him for some time, at last spoke to him and commissioned him to preach. The poor fanatic at length put an end to his own life, by throwing himself into a well.* A number of new relics were also discovered in the course of this century: among the rest, a head of John the Baptist was found at the monastery of St. John of Angeli, at Saintonge. This relic is however not singular, since there was scarcely a country in Europe or

* Jortin's Remarks, 5 v. 20.

Asia, which was not honoured with a head of the Baptist*.

Notwithstanding the apparent unity of the Catholic Church at this period, it does not appear that even the papal doctrines were universally received. A Saxon homily still extant, written in the reign of Ethelred II. demonstrates that the English Church had not embraced the doctrine of transubstantiation†.

In relating the historical events of this century, several instances of excommunication have occurred; indeed, this sentence was so frequently issued as to become almost contemptible. The penalties attending this censure of the Church, extended not only to the offending sinner, but to whoever conversed or kept up any correspondence with him to the fourth generation. Public penance was however much less frequently enjoined, and its pains were commuted for by pilgrimages, redemptions, and absolutions granted by the holy see. The introduction of the disciplining whip for the private punishment of sin, contributed to the abolition of public penance, which sunk into additional neglect, from the practice which was introduced at this period, of obtaining a remission of sins, by the scourgings and other voluntary pains, which, for a stipulated price, the monks

* The witty Jortin remarks, that John was at last εκατοκεφαλος, (an hundred headed animal). Rem. 5, v. 24.

† Rapin's Hist. vol. i. 143.

undertook

undertook to suffer for them. How far these holy men fulfilled their numerous contracts of this nature, it is impossible to ascertain.

Still less universal than the doctrines, were the Romish forms of worship; many of the western churches still retained their ancient ceremonies. The Spaniards had long distinguished themselves above all other nations by the noble and resolute resistance they made to the Romish ritual. Alexander II. had indeed proceeded so far, in the year 1068, as to persuade the inhabitants of Arragon into his measures*, and to conquer the aversion of the Catalonians. But the honour of finishing this difficult work, and bringing it to perfection, was reserved for Gregory VII. who, without interruption, exhorted, threatened, admonished, and intreated Sancius and Alphonso, the kings of Arragon and Castile, until, fatigued with the importunity of this restless pontiff, they consented to abolish the Gothic service in their churches, and to introduce the Roman in its place. Sancius was the first who complied with the request of the pontiff, and, in the year 1080, his example was followed by Alphonso. The methods which the nobles of Castile employed to decide the matter were extraordinary. First, two champions were selected, who were to determine the controversy by single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, the other for the Gothic. On the first

* Peter de Marca, *Histoire de Bearn*, liv. ii. cap. ix.

74 *Ordeal Trial of the different Liturgies.* [CENT. II.]

trial the Gothic hero proved victorious. The fiery trial was next made use of to terminate the dispute; the Roman and Gothic liturgies were committed to the flames, which, as the legend informs us, consumed the former, while the latter remained unblemished and entire. Thus were the Gothic rites crowned with a double victory, which, however, was not sufficient to maintain them against the authority of the pope, and the influence of the queen Constantia, who determined Alphonso in favour of the Roman service. It was, however, opposed by several of the Spanish churches, who still continue the use of their ancient missal. The desire of Gregory for the reception of the Latin ritual extended to every Christian country, and by the orders of Alexander II. and this pontiff, divine service was prohibited to be read in any other language than Greek and Latin.

The opposition made by the Greek church against the modes of worship practised by the Latin, produced an irreconcilable enmity between these two societies of Christians. A controversy on this point had arisen between them towards the close of the preceding century, and a schism had in consequence of it been produced. The indiscreet zeal of Michael the patriarch of Constantinople augmented this difference. In 1053 he published a letter in which he attacked in severe terms the custom of the western church of using unleavened bread in the sacrament, of fasting on Saturdays during Lent, of the not
singing

singing Hallelujah during the time appointed for that fast, and the eating of blood and things strangled. The indifference of modern times may induce a smile at the frivolous nature of these objections to communion, but they were considered in a very serious light by Leo IX. and the western clergy, whose wrath was increased by the intelligence that Michael had deprived of their churches, and monasteries, all the Latin Christians who refused to relinquish these rites. The emperor, Constantine Monomachus, was too much interested in retaining the favour of the pope, by whose influence alone he could hope to secure the possessions which still remained to him in the west, not to unite with Leo against the Constantinopolitan patriarch. The controversy between this prelate and the envoys of the pope, was prosecuted both by personal disputes and in writing. Michael however still continued unconvinced, and his refractory conduct was punished by a solemn excommunication and the deprivation of his see. On the decease of the emperor, the deposed patriarch was restored to his former honours, and in his turn solemnly excommunicated the pope.

The European nations, in general, were at this period diligently engaged in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches. Nor will it appear surprising when we consider, that in the preceding century, all Europe was alarmed with a dismal apprehension that the *day of judgment* was at hand.

Among

Among the other effects of this general terror, the churches and monasteries were suffered to fall into ruin, or at least to remain without repair, from an opinion that they would soon be involved in the general fate of all sublunary things. But when these apprehensions subsided, the tottering temples were rebuilt, and the utmost zeal, attended with the richest and most liberal donations, was employed in restoring the sacred edifices to their former lustre, or rather in imparting to them new magnificence and beauty.

The number of monastic institutions which had for several centuries been gradually increasing, was in this considerably augmented. The order of Clugni, which was instituted in the preceding century, had, from the superiority of its discipline, attained such a degree of reputation, that a number of new monasteries were erected, and the order was enriched by costly donations and splendid endowments. But in proportion as the wealth of the society increased, the severity of its discipline relaxed, and the monks were immersed in secular affairs. This defection induced those whose wish for a seclusion from the world arose from sincere though mistaken motives, to institute or enforce more austere regulations. Upon this principle Romauld, an Italian monk, withdrew from the society to which he belonged, and instituted several others which professed to adopt the regulations of St. Benedict. The institution however, which
professed.

professed and observed the greatest austerity was that of the Carthusians founded in the year 1084 by the fanatic Bruno, a canon of Rheims; who, with six companions, retired to the solitude of Chartreux in Dauphiné. The Carthusians wear sack-cloth next their skins, generally eat alone in their cells, and fast on Fridays, when they only allow themselves a small portion of bread and water. They are enjoined perpetual silence, and are never suffered to go out of their convent, and no women are permitted to enter their precincts. The order, though instituted in France, extended to England, and appears to have degenerated less than any other of the monastic institutions.

Two gentlemen of Vienne, whose benevolent exertions were devoted to the cure of those who were afflicted with the disorder called St. Anthony's fire, and who came to that city to implore the intercession of the saint in the church where his body was deposited, founded the order of St. Anthony, which professed themselves followers of the rules of St. Augustin. The order of Cistercians was founded towards the close of this century, to which period the full establishment of regular canons must be referred.

C H A P. III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE
ELEVENTH CENTURY.

*Berenger—Roscelin—Persecution of the Jews—Manicheans
—Bulgarians, and Catharists.*

HA D the spirit of inquiry been more widely diffused, and the influence of superstition and a blind attachment to received opinions been less predominant, the commotions which from various causes existed during a great part of this century in the western empire, might have left a considerable part of the Christian world little at leisure to examine the niceties of speculative theology. These causes, co-operating with those which were detailed in the preceding century, confine the account of any differences in religious opinion within a very contracted compass, and of those there were few who actually seceded from communion with the church. Yet the catholic writers of this period have transmitted to us the names of a few individuals, whose departure from the established faith incurred the censures of repeated councils. The most celebrated of these was Berenger, a priest of Angers, who warmly attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, though not openly asserted, was silently and imperceptibly gaining

gaining ground. But the ignorance and superstition of this period were extremely unfavourable to rational discussion, and Berenger was condemned by the pope and by several councils. It would be uncharitable to infer from the conduct of the unfortunate priest, that he had not a sincere regard to veracity : he possessed not however the spirit of a martyr, but, incited by fear, or impelled by truth, he alternately retracted and asserted his sentiments. His death relieved the church from this vexatious opponent, whose opinions, which had been received by few, gradually declined.

Roscelin, a celebrated logician and priest of Compeigne in France, was accused of asserting that the three persons in the trinity were three realities, distinct from each other in the same manner as three souls or angels, and that their whole union consisted in their having one will and one power. These opinions, which were considered as tritheism, were condemned in a council held at Soissons. Like the unfortunate Berenger, Roscelin dreaded the effects of an ecclesiastical censure, subscribed the decree which pronounced his opinions heretical, and solemnly retracted his sentiments, which however he again professed.

Some opinions similar to those of the Manicheans were professed in France, and incurred the censure of a council at Orleans, by whose decrees some ecclesiastics of that city were condemned to the flames along with several of their unhappy followers.

followers. The same opinions were imputed to several Bulgarians and Catharists, who were most probably Paulicians, but the precise doctrines they propagated were never very clearly ascertained. These unfortunate offenders did not however occupy the whole of civil and ecclesiastical vengeance. The leading features of the times were superstition and violence. In 1010, the prince of Babylon had destroyed the church of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and this sacrilegious act was attributed to the Jews, who, in consequence of the suspicion, were severely persecuted throughout Christendom.

CHAP. IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE
ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Revival of Letters—Leo the Grammarian, Theophylact, Cedrenus, Michael Psellus—Fulbert, Damianus, Anselm, Lambertus.

THE middle of the eleventh century is a period very remarkable in the annals of literature, for to that time the first dawn of reviving learning may be referred. It was indeed overcast by a cloud of prejudices, and the greater part of the knowledge of the age consisted in scholastic theology and logical distinctions, which frequently serve rather the purposes of obscurity than of elucidation.

The Grecian empire was, however, polished and improved by the labours of Leo the grammarian, who continued the chronicle of Theophanes*. George Cedrenus composed annals, and Theophylact, archbishop of Acrida in Bulgaria, laboured usefully upon the Scripture, by abridging the commentaries of Chrysostom. Besides these, there were a number of learned and excellent men in the Greek church, one of the most eminent of whom was Michael Psellus, a man of uncommon

* Du Pin.

erudition and sagacity. He was a strenuous advocate for Aristotle *, but did not confine himself to heathen literature, as he published several works of sacred criticism and theology, among others a paraphrase and commentary on the Song of Solomon †.

The controversy concerning investitures produced abundance of authors in the West, some of them not destitute of merit, did not the temporary nature of their productions consign them to oblivion. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, deserves a high rank among the restorers of literature. He read public lectures in the schools of Chartres, and has left to posterity letters and sermons, with a few poems: his letters are distinguished by their delicacy and wit ‡. Peter Damianus, cardinal bishop of Ostia, was a polite scholar for his time. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, excelled in scholastic divinity, and wrote a demonstration of the being of God in the metaphysical style; his argument is nearly the same with that used by Descartes: but Lambertus, a German monk, was at this period the best writer in the Christian world; and his general history is highly commended by Joseph Scaliger §.

* Mosh. Cent. 11. † Du Pin. ‡ Ib. § Jortin V. 44.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Conversion of Pomerania—Livonia—Calamitous state of Judea—Second Crusade—Saladin—Third Crusade under Frederick Barbarossa—Richard Cœur de Lion—Knights of Malta and Templars—Teutonic Knights—Popes, Paschal II.—Alexander III.—Lucius III.—Innocent III.

IN those regions of Europe, which had not yet received the Gospel, all that was laudable in the zeal of this century was principally exerted, though we must still regret the means which a mistaken spirit of religion employed even for the promotion of a glorious cause. Boleslaus duke of Poland, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace, upon condition that they would receive the Christian teachers, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. The condition was accepted, and Otho bishop of Bamberg, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent in the year 1124 to inculcate

34 *Success of Christianity in the North.* [CENT. 12.

and explain the doctrines of Christianity among that superstitious and barbarous people.

Amongst the northern princes in this century, none appeared with more distinguished reputation than Waldemar I. king of Denmark, who acquired immortal fame by the battles in which he contended against the pagan nations, the Slavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others, who, either by their incursions or their revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm.

The establishment of Christianity among the Livonians was attended with much difficulty, and with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. The first missionary who attempted the conversion of that savage people was Mainard, a regular canon of St. Augustin, in the monastery of Sigeburg. Towards the conclusion of this century he travelled to Livonia, with a company of merchants of Bremen who traded there, and he improved this opportunity of diffusing the light of the Gospel in that barbarous region of superstition and darkness. The instructions and exhortations, however, of this zealous apostle, were received with indifference or reluctance; and produced but little effect. The misguided missionary, in the true spirit of the times, therefore, addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, Urban III. who consecrated him bishop of the Livonians, and, at the same time, declared a *holy* war against that obstinate people. The war, which at first was
carried

carried on against the inhabitants of the province of Esthonia, was continued with still greater vigour, and rendered more universal, by Berthold abbot of Lucca, who forsook his monastery to share the labours and laurels of Mainard, whom he accordingly succeeded in the see of Livonia.

This zealous champion of the faith was again succeeded by Albert, canon of Bremen, who entered Livonia in 1198, and instituted there the military order of the Knights sword-bearers. New legions were sent from Germany to second the efforts, and add efficacy to the mission of these military apostles. This wretched people, exhausted at length, and unable to stand any longer firm against the arm of persecution, abandoned the statues of their pagan deities, and substituted in their place the images of the saints. But while they received the blessings of the Gospel, they were at the same time deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and possessions were taken from them with the most odious circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the knights and bishops divided the spoil*.

From a line of conduct so contemptible and atrocious, we turn with pleasure to the pious Vircellinus, a native of Hamelen, a man of extraordinary merit, who, after having presided many

* See the *Origines Livoniae, seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published in folio, at Frankfort, in the year 1740, by Jo. Daniel Gruberus.

years in the society of the regular canons of St. Augustin at Falderen, was at length consecrated bishop of Oldenbourg. This excellent prelate employed the last thirty years of his life *, amidst numberless vexations, dangers, and difficulties, in instructing the Sclavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the Gospel of Christ; and as his pious labours were directed by wisdom, and executed with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, they were attended with proportionate success. To his zeal and perseverance as a missionary, Vicellinus added the milder virtues of a saint, and every event of his protracted life entitles him to the esteem and veneration of successive ages.

The new kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been erected by the *holy warriors* towards the conclusion of the preceding century, appeared at first to flourish considerably, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was, however, but transitory, and was soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities and desolations. Many of the first Christian conquerors returned to Europe, when they conceived they had accomplished their vow; and those who remained were, immediately on the death of Godfrey, divided into factions. The Mahometan powers, therefore, who had at first been thrown into con-

* That is, from the year 1124 to the year 1154, in which he died.

sternation by the numbers, valour, and success of the soldiers of the Cross, now recovered from their surprise, and, collecting troops, and soliciting succours from all quarters, harassed and exhausted the Christians by incessant invasions and wars. The fortitude of the faithful forsook them not in this exigency: the country they had acquired by valour they defended with perseverance, till Atabec Zenghi *, after a long siege, conquered the city of Edessa, and menaced Antioch with a similar fate. In this situation the Christians became timid and diffident. They implored in the most desponding strain the assistance of the European princes, and requested a fresh army to support their tottering empire in the Holy Land.

A new expedition was not, however, resolved upon with such unanimity and precipitation as the former had been; it was the subject of long deliberation, and its expediency was strenuously debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies of the clergy and the people. Bernard, the celebrated abbot of Clairval, a man of the boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, terminated these disputes under the pontificate of Eugenius III. who had been his disciple, and who was

* Atabec was a title of honour given by the Sultans to the viceroys or lieutenants whom they entrusted with the government of their provinces. The Latin authors, who have written the history of this holy war, and of whom Bongarsius has given us a complete list, called this Atabec Zenghi, Sanguinus. See Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the word Atabec, p. 142.

wholly governed by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous ecclesiastic *preached the cross* with much ardour and success; and in the grand parliament assembled at Vezelai, 1146, at which Lewis VII. king of France, with his queen, with a prodigious concourse of the nobility, were present; Bernard recommended this holy expedition with such persuasive powers, and declared with such assurance that he had a divine commission to foretel its glorious success, that the king, the queen, and all the nobles, immediately put on the military cross, and prepared themselves for the voyage to Palestine. The orator next directed his exhortations to Conrad III. emperor of Germany, who for some time resisted his fervent solicitations. He at length complied; and such was the pathetic vehemence of the tone and gestures of the indefatigable Bernard, that a phlegmatic people who were ignorant of his language were induced to follow their sovereign to the fields of Palestine. The nobles of France and Germany were animated by the example and presence of their sovereigns, and Lewis VII. and Conrad were followed by armies which might have claimed the conquest of Asia. Their united cavalry was composed of seventy thousand knights, and their attendants; and the whole number, including women and children, is computed to have amounted to at least four hundred thousand souls. As it was impossible to procure necessaries for such numbers
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in the countries through which they were to pass, each army pursued a different road. But before their arrival in the Holy Land, the greater part of their forces were melted away, and perished miserably, by famine, by the sword of the Mahometans, by shipwreck, or by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who regarded these rude and intrepid intruders with peculiar acrimony and dread. Their numbers and their manners were formidable, and their designs a tacit reproach to the pusillanimous Greeks, whose enmity was inflamed by religious discord; and the schismatical and heretical Christians of the West were more the objects of abhorrence to the members of the Oriental Church, than the idolatrous pagan, or the followers of Mahomet. Such indeed was their abhorrence of the rites of their western brethren, that the Greek clergy washed and purified the altar which had been defiled by the sacrifice of a French priest. Lewis VII. who had left his kingdom 1147, in the month of March of the following year arrived at Antioch, with the wretched remains of his army, exhausted and dejected by the hardships they had endured. Conrad departed also in the year 1147, in the month of May; and in November following he arrived at Nice, where he joined the French army, after having lost the greater part of his own by a succession of calamities. From Nice the two princes proceeded to Jerusalem 1148, whence they led back into Europe, the following year,

year, the miserable remnant of troops which had survived the disasters they had met with in this expedition. Such was the unhappy issue of the second crusade, which was rendered ineffectual by a variety of causes, but more particularly by the jealousies and divisions which distracted the Christians in Palestine. Nor was it more ineffectual in Palestine than it was detrimental to Europe, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and destroying immense numbers of its inhabitants.

The unfortunate event of this second expedition was not however sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the Christians in Palestine entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes laid aside their animosities and contentions, had they attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would probably have repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But a contrary conduct was pursued. By intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, they weakened their efforts against the enemies who surrounded them, and consumed their strength by unhappily dividing it. Saladin, viceroy, or rather sultan of Egypt and Syria, and the most valiant chief whom the Mahometan annals can boast, took advantage of these lamentable divisions. He took prisoner Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, in a fatal battle fought near Tiberias 1187; and, in three months afterwards, appeared in arms before the
gates

gates of Jerusalem. The rapid efforts of fourteen days enabled the victor to make a breach in the walls, upon which he erected twelve banners of the prophet: he soon afterwards entered the city, tore down the cross from the principal church, and compelled all the Franks and Latins to evacuate the place. The carnage and desolation which accompanied this dreadful campaign threw the affairs of the Christians in the East into the most desperate condition, and afforded no glimpse of hope, but what arose from the expected assistance of the European princes. This assistance was obtained for them by the Roman pontiffs with much difficulty, and in consequence of repeated solicitations and entreaties. But the event was by no means answerable to the deep schemes which were concerted, and the pains which were employed for the support of the tottering kingdom of Jerusalem.

The third expedition was undertaken 1189, by Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, emperor of Germany; who, with a prodigious army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome, into the Lesser Asia, whence, after having defeated the sultan of Iconium, he penetrated into Syria. His valour and conduct promised successful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river Saleph, which runs through Seleucia. The manner of his death is not known with any degree of certainty; but the loss of this intrepid
veteran

veteran dejected the spirits of his troops, and in consequence of it considerable numbers of them returned to Europe. Those that remained continued the war under the command of Frederic, son of the deceased emperor; but the greater part of them perished miserably by a pestilential disorder, which raged with fatal violence in the camp, and swept off vast numbers every day. The new general died of this terrible disease in 1191; those who escaped its fury were dispersed, and few returned to their own country.

The example of Frederic Barbarossa was followed, in the year 1190, by Philip Augustus king of France, and Richard I. king of England*. These two monarchs proceeded from their respective dominions with a considerable number of ships of war and transports, arrived in Palestine in the year 1191, each at the head of a separate army, and were successful in their first encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the strong city of Acre or Ptolemais, which had been defended by the Mussulmans with the most obstinate valour; the French monarch returned into Europe, in the month of July 1191, leaving, however, behind him a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into Palestine. Notwithstanding his departure, the king of England pursued the war, exhibited daily marks of heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated Saladin in several engagements, but made

* Called by way of eminence, *Richard Cœur de Lion.*
himself

himself master of Yaffa (more commonly known by the name of Joppa) and Cæsarea. Deserted however by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of essential importance, he concluded, in 1192, with Saladin, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and soon evacuated Palestine with his whole army *. Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted England, France and Germany, both of men and money, without producing any solid advantage, or giving even a favourable turn to the affairs of the Christians in the Holy Land.

The contests which arose between the Christians and Mahometans gave rise to the three celebrated military orders.

The order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which at first was merely a charitable society, then a military association, and at last a sovereign power, traces back its origin to the middle of the eleventh century, when some merchants of Amalfi, piously desirous that the devout pilgrims from various parts of the Christian world should have access to the sepulchre of their Saviour, obtained permission from the Egyptian caliph, who at that time possessed Jerusalem, to erect a house there for the reception of the Latin pilgrims.

* Daniel, *Histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 426—Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. See there the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion.—Marigny, *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 285.

Invested with powers for that purpose, they soon built a chapel, which was dedicated to St. Mary ad Latinos, in order to distinguish it from those churches which belonged to the Greeks, whose ritual was extremely different, and who, on that account, had treated the Latin Christians with great rancour and contumely. Two houses of entertainment, for the reception of pilgrims of both sexes, were at first erected near this chapel, where service was performed by some benedictine monks. These pious fathers, devoted to the interests of religion and charity, received with holy hospitality all those who visited the sacred sepulchre; carefully attended them when sick; and liberally supplied their wants out of the alms which were collected for them in Italy by the charitable merchants of Amalfi.

An institution which had for its object the good of religion, without any respect to personal enjoyment or interest, rose daily in the esteem of all ranks in the Christian world; and great numbers of pilgrims devoting themselves to the service of mankind, remained in Palestine, and incorporated themselves into this pious society, which, without the distinction of Latin or of Greek, of sex, of age, or of country, hospitably received all who desired admission within its walls. Even the Mahometan found in this fraternity, that his claims as a man would be attended with the most important services, though his religious faith was the object of horror

horror and detestation. Daily did the house of St. John increase in reputation and esteem; several very important donations were given in different parts of Europe to increase its funds; and upon the conquest of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Boulogne, who was invested with the government of the Christians in those parts, augmented the riches of these hospitallers by some very extensive grants, which were imitated by the other noblemen who had joined in the crusade. The fraternity and sisterhood of St. John assumed a regular habit, and continued, under the Christian kings of Jerusalem, to practise those virtues by which they were first distinguished: nor were their cares confined to the safety and accommodation of the Christians who were already at Jerusalem; a considerable part of their revenues were appropriated to the erection of similar institutions in the principal maritime provinces of Europe, where the pilgrims were received and entertained, and directed to the means of providing every necessary for their embarkation.

Though the Christians had obtained, by their victories, possession of the capital of Palestine, and of some other cities, yet the greatest part of the country still remained in the hands of the Infidels, who assassinated great numbers of those who resorted to the holy sepulchre, and sometimes fell in large bodies upon the Christian towns which were not fortified, and put the inhabitants to the sword.

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In order to check these alarming outrages, the superior of the hospitallers proposed the extraordinary scheme of taking a certain portion of the monks of St. John, who were distinguished by birth, and had formerly served in the holy wars, to bear arms against these Infidels, at the same time that they were to continue their former charitable offices in the society. To this proposal the patriarch of Jerusalem agreed, Godfrey joyfully acceded to the wishes of his old associates in the field, and the monks were transported with a scheme which animated the latent spark of glory, without wholly drawing them from the employments to which they had dedicated their days, and in pursuit of which they united the virtues of a Christian with the spirit and enthusiasm of a soldier engaged in the most glorious cause.

Upon the first institution of this military order, which arose early in the 12th century, those who were appointed to bear arms were but one of three classes into which the superior of the convent had divided the order. The second class consisted of the priests and chaplains, who, besides their customary attendance upon the church, or the sick and poor, were obliged to serve by turns as chaplains in the camp. Those of the third class were such as were neither distinguished by birth, nor had become ecclesiastics; and these obtained the name of serving brothers, from the inferior offices which they were obliged to perform. These degrees

grees were, however, at first, merely nominal, and each of the monks of St. John was an equal participator in the privileges and immunities of the order; but in a short time, the soldiers or the knights obtained some distinctions in their dress, both in the convent and the field, and in time were admitted to dignities to which the serving brothers had no pretensions.

The order increasing daily in splendor and reputation received new accessions of numbers from every part of the Christian world, who were desirous of enrolling themselves under its banner. In consequence of this influx into the order, a new distinction was found necessary, which was dividing it into seven classes, according to the different nations and countries to which these different emigrants belonged. These divisions were called languages or tongues, and were those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany, and England; and the commanderies and emoluments belonging to the order in those countries were annexed to the language or order of knights belonging to these respective nations. The English, since the reign of Henry VIII. have forfeited the advantages of being admitted into the order, and the honours and emoluments of that nation, of which the order was not deprived, are now divided into the other nations, to which have been added the languages of Castile and Portugal.

During the wars which succeeded the com-

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mencement of this remarkable institution, the knights of St. John were distinguished by their military enthusiasm, and heroic achievements; but the most determined valour and the most spirited exertions could not for ever render them successful against the attacks of an enemy whose forces were infinitely more numerous than their own, and whose conquests were accelerated by the intestine divisions which had long prevailed in the order. The knights, compelled at length by the victorious arms of the Mahometans to resign to them, after many struggles, the Holy Land, retired to Candia, which, upon finding themselves ill treated by the king of that island, they afterwards forsook, and after much difficulty, and a war, continued with various success during four years, at length obtained possession of the island of Rhodes, and exchanged their ancient title to that of the knights of Rhodes. This delightful situation, which they acquired in 1310, they enjoyed for near two hundred and twenty years; but at the expiration of that time were again compelled to desert a residence which they had rendered very delightful, and to resign the island, with all its dependencies, to Solyman the Second. After several affecting vicissitudes of fortune, the order at length obtained from the Emperor Charles V. an asylum for their scattered forces, and in 1530, took possession of Tripoli and of the islands of Malta and Gozzo.

In these islands the order still exists; and very soon after obtaining the grant, exchanged the title of the Knights of Rhodes to that of the Knights of Malta, by which they are still distinguished.

Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the Knights Templars, who received this denomination from a palace adjoining to the temple of Jerusalem, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by Balduin II. The foundations of this order were laid at Jerusalem, in the year 1118, by Hugues des Pagens, Geoffry of St. Aldemer, or St. Omer, and seven other persons whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by being confirmed solemnly in the council of Troyes, and subjected to a rule of discipline, drawn up by St. Bernard. These warlike Templars were engaged to defend and support the cause of Christianity by force of arms, to inspect the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem, against the insults and barbarity of the Mahometans. The order flourished for some time, and acquired immense riches, and an eminent degree of military reputation: but, as their prosperity increased, their vices were multiplied, and their arrogance, luxury*, and cruelty became so obnoxious, that their pri-

* *Bibere Templarum more*, was a common proverb.

privileges were revoked, and their order suppressed by a decree of the pope and of the council of Vienne in Dauphiny, about the year 1311*.

The third order resembled the first in this respect, that, though it was a military institution, the care of the poor, and the relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of *Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*; but we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace its origin farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of Acre or Ptolemais. In this protracted siege several pious and benevolent merchants of Bremen and Lubec, affected with the sight of the miseries which the besiegers suffered, devoted themselves entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to every unhappy object who solicited their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German princes, who were prosecuting the siege, that they instituted a fraternity of German knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their resolution was approved by pope Celestine III. who confirmed the new order by a bull issued on the twenty-third of February, 1192. This order was

* There is good reason to suspect, that the immense wealth of this fraternity afforded no inconsiderable temptation to the potentates of Christendom, to exert themselves for its suppression.

entirely

entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members, but such as were of an illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy Land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and service to which the Teutonic Knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the equestrian garment*, with bread and water, were the only reward which the knights derived from their generous labours. But this austerity proved of short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order augmented. The Teutonic Knights, after their retreat from Palestine, made themselves masters of Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigallen; but, their victorious arms afterwards received several checks; and when the light of the reformation arose upon Germany, they were deprived of the richest provinces which they possessed in that country; though they still retained there a certain portion of their ancient territories.

The internal state of Christendom during the eleventh century continued to be divided by perpetual contentions between the empire and the papacy, or by violent struggles between the popes and antipopes. Pascal II, who had been raised to the pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, appeared firmly seated in the apostolic

* This garment was a white mantle with a black cross.

chair, without the least apprehension from the Imperial faction. After the death of Guibert in 1100, this faction indeed chose in his place a person named Albert; but he was seized and imprisoned on the day of his election. Theodoric and Magnulf, were successively chosen after Albert, but could not long support their claim to the pontificate*.

No sooner did Paschal observe his deliverance from his domestic enemies, than he determined not to suffer the present season of tranquillity to pass unimproved. He assembled a council at Rome in the year 1102, in which the decrees of his predecessors against investitures, and the excommunications they had fulminated against Henry IV. were renewed, and the most vigorous efforts were employed by the ambitious pontiff to excite new enemies against the unfortunate emperor. Henry opposed however, with much constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent pontiff, and eluded with much dexterity and vigilance his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1104, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. Henry V. (so was this monster afterwards named) seized his father in a treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after

* See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. liv. xv. vol. xiv. p. 10. Brussels edition in 8vo.

which

which the unhappy prince retired to Liege, where, deserted by all his adherents, he was released from his misery by death, in the year 1106.

The revolution which this odious rebellion occasioned in the empire, was, however, less favourable to the views of Pascal than he expected. Henry V. could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of *investing* the bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the canons and monks, as was usual before his time. Upon this the exasperated pontiff renewed, in the councils of Guastallo and Troyes, the decrees which had so frequently been issued against *investitures*, and the flame broke out with new force. It was, indeed, suspended during a few years, by the wars in which Henry V. was engaged, and which prevented his bringing the dispute to a conclusion. But no sooner had he made peace with his enemies, and composed the tumults which interrupted the tranquillity of the empire, than he departed for Italy with a formidable army in 1110, to put an end to the long and unhappy contest. He advanced towards Rome by slow marches, while the trembling pontiff, reduced to the lowest and most defenceless condition, proposed to him the following conditions of peace: That he, on the one hand, should renounce the right of *investing*, with the *ring* and the *crozier*; and that the bishops and abbots should, on the other, resign to the emperor all the grants they had received from Charlemagne, of

those rights and privileges which belong to royalty; such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent lands and territories, with other immunities of a similar nature. These conditions were agreeable to Henry, and he accordingly ratified them by a formal consent in the year 1111; but they proved extremely displeasing to the Italian and German bishops, who expressed their dissent in the strongest terms. A fatal tumult arose in the church of St. Peter, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers, upon which Henry ordered the pope, and several of the refractory cardinals to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of Viterbo. After remaining a prisoner for some time, the captive pontiff was engaged, by the unhappy circumstances of his present condition, to enter into a new convention, by which he solemnly receded from the article of the former treaty which regarded *investitures*, confirmed to the emperor the privilege of inaugurating the bishops and abbots with the *ring* and *crozier*, and anathematized all who might oppose this concession. Thus was peace concluded, in consequence of which the vanquished pontiff arrayed Henry with the imperial diadem.

This transitory peace, the fruit of violence and necessity, was followed by greater tumults and more dreadful wars, than had yet afflicted the Church. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, Rome was filled with the most vehement
commotions,

commotions, and an universal clamour was excited against the pontiff, who was accused of having violated, in a scandalous manner, the duties and dignity of his station, and of having prostituted the majesty of the Church by his ignominious compliance with the demands of the emperor. To appease these commotions, Pascal in defiance of his anathema assembled, in the year 1112, a council in the church of Lateran; and there not only confessed, with the deepest contrition, the crime he had committed in concluding such a convention with the emperor, but submitted the decision of the affair to the determination of the council, who accordingly took the treaty into consideration, and solemnly annulled it. This step was followed by many events which gave, for a long time, an unfavourable aspect to the affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in many synods and councils both in France and Germany; he was even placed in the black list of *heretics*, a denomination which exposed to the greatest dangers in these superstitious and barbarous times; and, to complete his anxiety, he saw the German princes revolting from his authority in several places, and taking up arms in the cause of the Church. To terminate the calamities which thus afflicted the empire on all sides, Henry set out a second time for Italy, with a numerous army, in the year 1116, and arrived the year following at Rome, where he assembled the consuls, senators and nobles, while the fugitive pontiff retired

tired to Benevento. Pascal, however, during this forced absence, engaged the Normans to march to his assistance, and, encouraged by the prospect of immediate succour, prepared for a vigorous war against the emperor, and attempted to make himself master of Rome. But, in the midst of these warlike preparations, which drew the attention of Europe, the military pontiff concluded his days, in the year 1118. John Cajetan was appointed his successor, but ended his turbulent pontificate in the beginning of the following year. He was succeeded by Callistus II. who renewed the dispute concerning investitures. Each party, however, wearied by unceasing contention, became desirous of the blessings of peace; conditions were therefore proposed which derogated neither from the majesty of the empire, nor the rights of the Church, and temporary tranquillity was once more restored. In the pontificates of his successors till the elevation of Alexander III. few remarkable events occurred, except the struggles of contending popes, and their disputes with Roger king of Sicily, who haughtily refused to acknowledge his dominions as dependencies upon the Holy See.

The dormant struggles for power between the popes and emperors were revived during the pontificate of Alexander III. who attained the papal chair in 1159. The elevation of this prelate was warmly opposed by several of the cardinals, who, in opposition to him, elected another of their
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body under the name of Victor III. and their opposition was strengthened by obtaining as an auxiliary the emperor Frederic I. The terrified pontiff fled precipitately into Sicily, whence he procured a passage into France, where he was received by the kings of England and France, and was conducted on horseback along the road by these submissive princes, each of whom on foot held the reins of his horse's bridle. After a series of contentions during eighteen years, tranquillity was once more restored by the submission of the emperor, who condescended to prostrate himself at the feet of the haughty pontiff in the great church of St. Mark at Venice, and to receive from him the kiss of peace.

Too extended in his views to be solely occupied with the events in which he was personally concerned, the vicissitudes to which Alexander was exposed, did not prevent him from steadily regarding every circumstance which affected the privileges and dignity of the Holy See. In the reign of Henry II. of England, the celebrated council of Clarendon was held, in which several laws were enacted, for the salutary purpose of restraining the abuses of the ecclesiastical tribunals, and reducing the cognizance of all civil crimes and misdemeanors under the authority of the king and his judges. To these laws Thomas Becket*, archbishop of

* See Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major.* p. 82, 83. 101. 114. Dav. Wilkins, *Concilia Magna Britannia*, tom. 1. p. 434.

Canterbury, refused obedience, considering them as prejudicial to the *divine* rights of the church in general, and particularly to the prerogatives of the court of Rome. A violent debate succeeded between the resolute monarch and the rebellious prelate, and the latter was obliged to retire into France, where the exiled pontiff at that time resided. This prelate and the king of France, interposed their good offices to compose these differences, and they succeeded so far, after much trouble and difficulty, as to encourage Becket to return into England, where he was re-instated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceedings of his sovereign were not sufficient to conquer his obstinacy in maintaining, what he called, the privileges of the Church; nor could he be induced by any means to comply with the views and measures of Henry. The consequences of this inflexible resistance were fatal to the haughty prelate. After repeated affronts, the king one day, in an unguarded moment when particularly exasperated, unfortunately expressed himself to this purpose: Am I not unhappy, that, among the numbers who are attached to my interests and employed in my service, there is none possessed of spirit enough to resent the affronts which I am constantly receiving from a miserable priest? These words were indeed not pronounced in vain. Four gentlemen of the court, whose names were Fitz-Urfe, Tracy, Britton, and Morville, murdered Becket in his chapel, as
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he was engaged in performing the evening service. Henry however suspecting the design of the four gentlemen from some menacing expressions they had made use of, dispatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But these orders arrived too late*. Such an event was calculated to produce warm debates between the king of England and the Roman pontiff; and the latter was at length successful enough in the contest to force the suppliant monarch to undergo a severe course of penance, in order to expiate a crime of which he was considered as the principal promoter; while the murdered prelate was solemnly enrolled in the highest rank of saints and martyrs, and innumerable miracles were reported to have been wrought by his sacred bones.

To his successes in the field, and the exercise of the spiritual weapons already possessed by the church, Alexander added still more permanent advantages by enacting laws peculiarly calculated to extend the prerogatives of the Romish See. In the third council of the Lateran, held at Rome in 1179, the following decrees, among many others upon different subjects, were passed by his advice and authority: 1st. That in order to terminate the confusion and dissensions which so commonly accompanied the election of a pope, the right of election should not only be vested in the cardinals

* Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 394.

alone,

alone, but also that the person, in whose favour two thirds of the college of cardinals voted, should be considered as the lawful and duly elected pope. This law is still in force; it was therefore from the time of Alexander that the election acquired that form which it still retains, by which not only the people, but also the Roman clergy, are excluded entirely from all share in the honour of conferring that important dignity. 2dly. A spiritual war was declared against heretics, whose numbers increasing rapidly about this period, created much disturbance in the church in general, and more particularly in several provinces of France. 3dly. The right of recommending and nominating to the order of saints was also taken away from councils and bishops, and *canonization* was ranked among the *greater and more important causes*, the cognizance of which belonged to the pope alone. To all this we must not forget to add, that the power of creating new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontiffs from the time of Gregory VII. was not only assumed, but exercised, by Alexander in a remarkable instance; for in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the ensigns of royalty, upon Alphonso I. duke of Portugal, who, under the pontificate of Lucius II. had rendered his province tributary to the Roman See*.

* Baronius, *Annal. ad A. 1179.* Innocent III. *Epistola*, lib. ep. xlix. p. 54. tom. i. ed. *Baluzian.*

Upon the death of Alexander, Urbald, bishop of Ostia, known by the name of Lucius III. was raised to the pontificate in 1181, by the suffrages of the cardinals alone. The administration of this new pontiff was embittered by violent tumults and seditions; he was twice expelled from the city by the Romans, who could not bear a pope elected in opposition to the ancient custom, without the knowledge and consent of the clergy and people: in the midst of these troubles he died at Verona in the year 1185, and was succeeded by Hubert Crivelli, bishop of Milan, who assumed the title of Urban III. and without having transacted any thing worthy of mention during his short pontificate, died of grief in the year 1187, upon hearing that Saladin had rendered himself master of Jerusalem. The pontificate of Celestine III. whose name was Hyacinth, a native of Rome, and a cardinal deacon, was more splendid. He fulminated his excommunications against the emperor Henry VI. and Leopold, duke of Austria, on account of their having seized and imprisoned Richard I. king of England, on his return from the Holy Land; he subjected to the same malediction Alphonso X. king of Galicia and Leon, on account of an incestuous marriage into which that prince had entered, and commanded Philip Augustus, king of France, to re-admit to the conjugal state and honours Ingelburg his queen, whom he had divorced for reasons unknown; though, as might
be

be expected, this order produced but little effect. Lotharius, count of Signi, a cardinal deacon, who assumed the name of Innocent III. was elected to the pontificate in 1198.

C H A P. II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES AND CEREMONIES.

School Divinity—Pretended Revelations—Origin and Progress of Indulgences—Supererogation—Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.

THE doctrines of the established church underwent in this age of ignorance but little alteration. They were obscured indeed by superstition, and rendered ludicrous by a ceremonious and pompous worship. The scholastic doctors, who considered the decisions of the ancients and the precepts of the dialecticians, as the great criterion of truth, instead of explaining the doctrines of Christianity mined them by degrees, and sunk divine truth under the ruins of a captious philosophy; while the Mystics, lapsing perhaps into the opposite extreme, are said to have maintained, that the souls of the truly pious were incapable of any spontaneous motions, and could only be actuated by a *divine impulse*; and thus not merely set limits to the pretensions of reason, but excluded it entirely from religion and morality; nay, in some measure, denied its very existence.

To finish the absurd portrait of superstition, it is only necessary to observe, that human credulity was so widely extended in this century, that when

either the phrensy of a disordered imagination, or the artfulness of hypocrisy, thought proper to publish the dreams or visions, which they *fancied*, or *pretended*, to receive from above, the multitude resorted to the new oracle, and respected its decisions as the commands of God, who, in this way, was pleased, as they imagined, to communicate counsel, instruction, and the knowledge of his will to men. Of this remark no better illustration need to be adduced, than the extraordinary reputation which was obtained in Germany by the two famous prophetesses, Hildegard abbess of Bingen, and Elizabeth of Schonauge.

The origin of the sale of indulgences does not appear to be very generally understood. It was a branch of the grand doctrine of penance, and was founded on the authority which was claimed by the bishops, of proportioning the punishment to the offence of the criminal. When therefore the exigencies of the church demanded, they granted to their flock the power of purchasing the remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors, by a sum of money, which was to be applied to certain religious purposes, or, in other words, they published *indulgences*, which soon became an inexhaustible source of opulence to the episcopal order. The abbots and monks, who were not qualified to grant indulgences, had recourse to other methods of enriching their convents. They carried through the country the carcases and relics of the
faints

saints in solemn procession, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace these sacred and lucrative remains, at certain established prices. When however the Roman pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures which the inferior rulers of the church were accumulating by the sale of *indulgences*, they thought proper to limit the power of the bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon sinners, and assumed almost entirely this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this measure, the court of Rome became the general magazine of indulgences; and the popes occasionally published, not only an universal, but a complete, or what they call a *plenary* remission of all the *temporal* pains and penalties, which the Church had annexed to certain transgressions. Not content however with this privilege, they proceeded still farther; and not only remitted the penalties which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity*.

* Morinus, *De Administratione Sacramenti Peniten.* lib. x. cap. xx, xxi, xxii, p. 768—Rich. Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxiii. p. 371—Mabillon, *Pref. ad Acta Sanctor. sæc. v. Actor. Sanctor. Benedic.* p. 54, not to speak of the Protestant writers.

The pontiffs first employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war, and scattered abroad their indulgences, though with a certain degree of moderation, in order to encourage the European princes to form new expeditions for the conquest of Palestine; but in time the charm of indulgences was practised upon various occasions of much less consequence *. Their introduction, among other things, destroyed the credit and authority of the ancient canonical and ecclesiastical discipline of penance, and occasioned the removal and suppression of the penitentials †, by which the reins were let loose to every species of vice. To justify these proceedings of the popes, a monstrous and fantastical doctrine was now invented, which was modified and embellished by St. Thomas in the following century. The chief purport of this new doctrine was, “That there actually existed an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the pious deeds and virtuous actions, which the saints had performed beyond what was necessary for their own salvation ‡, and which was therefore applicable to the benefit of others; that the guardian and dispenser of

* Muratori *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 761—Franc. Pagi. *Breviar. Rom. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60. Theod. Ruinarti, *Vita Urbani II.* p. 231. tom. iii. Op. Posthum.

† The *penitential* was a book, in which the degree and kind of penance annexed to each crime were registered.

‡ These works are known by the name of *Works of Supererogation*.

“ this treasure was the pope ; and that, of consequence, he was empowered to *assign* to such as he thought proper, a portion of this inexhaustible source of *merit*, suitable to their respective *guilt*, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes.”

The rites and ceremonies used in divine worship, both public and private, were now greatly augmented among the Greeks, and the same superstitious passion for the introduction of new observances, discovered itself in all the eastern churches. The Grecian, Nestorian, and Jacobite pontiffs, who were in any degree remarkable for their credit or ambition, were desirous of transmitting their names to posterity by the invention of some new rite, or by some striking change introduced into the method of worship which had hitherto prevailed. This was, indeed, almost the only means left to distinguish themselves in an age, in which a sense of the excellence of genuine religion and substantial piety was almost totally lost. Some attempted, though in vain, to render their names immortal, by introducing a new method of reading or reciting the prayers of the church ; others changed the church music ; many tortured their inventions to discover some new mark of veneration, which might be offered to the relics and images of the saints ; while several ecclesiastics did not disdain to employ their time, with the most serious assiduity, in embellishing the garments of the clergy,

and in forming the motions and postures they were to observe, and the looks they were to assume, in the celebration of divine worship.

The enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary, which had been hitherto carried to such an excessive height, increased in this century instead of diminishing, since her dignity at this time was considerably augmented by a new fiction relating to her *immaculate conception*. The history of this dogma is curious; and in order to give the reader a full idea of its progress, it will be necessary to adventure a little beyond the strict limits of chronology. About the year 1136, the canons of Lyons started this opinion, and would have established an office for its celebration, but were opposed by St. Bernard. The doctrine was also opposed at first by the disciples of Thomas Aquinas; but in the year 1300, the celebrated Duns Scotus, a Cordelier* or Franciscan, first reduced it to a probability, and his followers made it an article of faith, whilst the Dominicans still held a contrary opinion. The controversy between the two parties continued openly for upwards of 300 years, nor has it yet been completely decided. The university of Paris declared in favour of the immaculate conception, and several popes espoused the different sides of the question. John XXII. favoured the Dominicans, on

* The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, were called Cordeliers, on account of the knotted cord which they wear as a girdle.

account of the hatred which he bore to the Cordeliers for their attachment to Louis of Bavaria, whom he excommunicated. Sixtus IV. a cordelier, favoured the opinion of his order, and in 1477 published a bull, in which he prohibited any censure of that opinion as heretical, and confirmed the new service which had been instituted for the festival of the immaculate conception. The famous council of Trent confirmed the constitution of Sixtus IV. relating to the celebration of the conception; but without condemning as heretics those who maintained the contrary opinion. Thus the controversy was protracted with many vicissitudes till the year 1667, when Alexander V. unable to decide it in any more satisfactory manner, ordered that there should be no more preaching on this intricate subject.

C H A P. III.

CONCERNING THE SECTS WHICH EXISTED IN THE
TWELFTH CENTURY.

*Waldenses—Their Tenets—Opposition to the Church of Rome
—Albigenses—False Christs.*

OF the sects which appeared in this century, none was more distinguished by the reputation it acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and the testimony which its bitterest enemies bore to the probity and innocence of its members, than that of the Waldenses. The origin of this celebrated people has occasioned much discussion, and their genealogy has been traced to the first periods of Christianity, or to a much less remote source, according to the ingenuity or fancy of different historians. By some they have been thought to derive their descent from the Christian inhabitants of Spain, whose territory lay in Navarre (a part of Biscay), who, upon the irruption of the Moors, were driven for refuge into the vicinity of the Pyrenean mountains. In this new situation it has been conceived that they assumed new names, agreeable to their former or present circumstances, or names composed from different combinations; and that one of those tribes took their denomination from a place near Barcelona, called Vallensia, whence

whence the names of Vallenfes, Valdenfes, or Waldenfes, might be eafily derived. Both thefe opinions are however attended with confiderable difficulties: and with rather more probability, the name, by which thefe diftinguifhed reformers have been tranfmitted to pofterity, has been afcribed to their refiding in the vallies (or *vaux*) of Piedmont, whence they obtained the appellation of Vaudois. A different account from any of the preceding is however given by Turretine, of this feft.—He represents them as originating from the Milanefe clergy, many of whom refufed to repudiate their wives, in compliance with the injun&ions of Leo IX. Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. Withdrawing from the Roman communion, they held conventions of their own at a place called Patarea, whence they firft were called Patareans, but afterwards Waldenfes. With ftill greater probability, however, they are conceived to have been a branch of the Paulicians*, who were difperfed in almoft all the countries of Europe and Afia.

The fociety, however, of which it is our bufinefs to treat in the hiftory of this century, was diftinguifhed by feveral different denominations.—From the place where it firft attracted the notice of the public, its members were called the poor men of Lyons, or Leonifts†, and from the wooden shoes worn

* Lardner's Credibility, v. vi. p. 427.

† They were called Leonifts from Leona, the ancient name of Lyons, where their feft is thought to have taken its rife. The more

worn by its doctors, and a certain mark imprinted upon those shoes, they were denominated *Insabbatati* or *Sabbatati**. The origin of this celebrated sect, at least in that part of the country, is ascribed by Mosheim to Peter, an opulent merchant of Lyons, who probably derived his surname of Valdo, Valdus, or Waldus, from adopting the doctrines which had been professed by the inhabitants of the Piedmontese vallies. Ardently solicitous for the advancement of rational piety and christian knowledge, Peter about the year 1160 employed Stephanus de Evisa, a priest, to translate into French the four Gospels, with other books of the Holy Scriptures, and the most remarkable sentences of the ancient fathers. No sooner however had he perused those sacred records with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman Church, differed totally from that which was originally inculcated by Christ

more eminent persons of that sect manifested their progress towards perfection by the simplicity and meanness of their outward appearance. Hence, among other things, they wore wooden shoes, which in the French language are termed *sabots*, and had imprinted upon those shoes the sign of the cross, to distinguish themselves from other Christians; and it was on these accounts that they acquired the name of *sabbatati* and *insabbatati*. See Du Fresne, *Glossarium Latin. Medii Ævi* vi. voce *Sabbatati*, p. 4. Nicol. Eumerici *Directorium Inquisitorum*, part III. N. 112, &c.

* See Steph. de Borbonne *De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti* in Echard & Quetif. *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor.* tom. i. p. 192.—Anonym. *Traſtatio de Hereſi Pauperum de Lugduno*, in Martene *Theſauro Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777.

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and his apostles. Struck with this glaring departure from the truth, and animated with a pious zeal for promoting his own salvation and that of others, he abandoned his mercantile vocation, distributed his riches among the poor*, and forming an association with other pious men, who had adopted his sentiments and his turn of devotion, he began, in 1180, to assume the character of a public teacher. The archbishop of Lyons, and the other rulers of the church in that province, opposed, with vigour, this new instructor in the exercise of his ministry. But their opposition was unsuccessful; for the purity and simplicity of the doctrines inculcated by these sectaries, the spotless innocence of their lives and actions, and their noble contempt of riches and honours, appeared so engaging to all who were possessed of any true sense of piety, that the number of their disciples and followers daily increased †.

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* It was on this account that the Waldenses were called *Pauvres de Lyons*, or *Poor men of Lyons*.

† Dr. Mosheim observes in this place—"Certain writers give different accounts of the origin of the Waldenses, and suppose they were so called from the *vallies* in which they had resided for many ages before the birth of Peter Waldus. But those writers have no authority to support this assertion, and besides this they are refuted amply by the best historians. That there were in the *vallies* of Piedmont, long before this period, a set of men who differed widely from the opinions adopted and inculcated by the Church of Rome, and whose doctrine resembled in many respects that of the Waldenses, is highly probable; but still these inhabitants of the *vallies* are to be carefully distinguish-

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They accordingly formed religious assemblies, first in France, and afterwards in Lombardy, whence they propagated their tenets throughout the other countries of Europe with incredible rapidity, and with such invincible fortitude, that neither fire nor sword, nor the most cruel inventions of merciless

ed from the Waldenses, who, according to the unanimous voice of history, were originally inhabitants of Lyons, and derived their name from Peter Waldus, their founder and chief." From the best records, however, it appears, that Valdus derived his name from the true Valdenses of Piedmont, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of Vaudois and Waldenses, before he or his immediate followers existed. If the Valdenses or Waldenses had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from Valdo, who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the ninth century, and was the contemporary and chief counsellor of Berengarius.—

The inquisitor Reinerus Sacco, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the Waldenses, lived but about eighty years after Valdus of Lyons, and must therefore be supposed to know whether or not he was the real founder of the Valdenses or Leonists; and yet it is remarkable that he speaks of the Leonists (mentioned in a preceding page, as synonymous with Waldenses) as a sect which had flourished above 500 years; nay mentions authors of note, who pretend to trace their antiquity to the apostolic age. See the account given of Sacco's book by the Jesuit Grester, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Upon what principle Dr. Mosheim maintains, that the inhabitants of the vallies of Piedmont are to be carefully distinguished from the Waldenses, is not easy to conceive; and indeed whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2d, 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the first book of Leger's *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, will find this distinction entirely removed. See Dr. Maclean's Notes on Mosheim.

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persecution, could damp their zeal, or entirely ruin their cause *.

The professed objects of Peter Waldus and his followers, were to reduce the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, to that amiable simplicity, and that primitive sanctity, which characterized the apostolic ages, and which appear so strongly recommended in the precepts and injunctions of the divine author of our religion. In consequence of this design, they complained that the Romish Church had degenerated under Constantine the Great from its primitive purity and sanctity. They considered every Christian as in a certain measure qualified and authorized to instruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their christian course, and demanded the restoration of the ancient penitential discipline of the church, that is, the expiation of transgressions by prayer, fasting, and alms, which the newly-invented doctrine of indulgences had almost totally abolished. They at the same time affirmed, that every pious Christian was qualified and entitled to prescribe to the penitent the kind and degree of satisfaction or expiation which his transgressions required; that confession made to priests was by no means neces-

* Such was the spirit of the times, that some foreign heretics being found in England in 1160, and being condemned by the bishops, they were beaten with sticks, scourged, burnt in the face, and turned adrift; and no person being permitted to harbour them, they all perished with cold and hunger. *Fleury* quoted by *Jortin*, V. 230.

sary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins and testify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsels and admonitions which his case and circumstances demanded. They maintained, that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt and punishment of their offences, belonged to God alone, and that indulgences, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of sordid avarice. They regarded the prayers, and other ceremonies, which were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification, affirming, that they were immediately, upon their separation from the body, received into heaven, or into hell. These were the principal tenets which composed the system of doctrine propagated by the Waldenses. Their rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted, as the model of their moral discipline, the sermon of Christ upon the mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner, and consequently condemned war, as the excess of human folly and wickedness; prohibited law-suits, and all attempts towards the acquisition of wealth; dissuaded from the inflicting of capital punishments, self-defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds *.

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* See the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, published by Limborch, as also the *Summa Monetæ contra Waldenses*, and the other writers

The government of the church was committed by the Waldenses, to bishops, presbyters, and deacons; for they acknowledged, that these three ecclesiastical orders were instituted by Christ himself. But they considered it as absolutely necessary, that all these orders should exactly resemble the apostles, and be, like them, poor in worldly possessions, and furnished with some laborious vocation, in order to gain by constant industry their daily subsistence.

The Albigenses, who derived their name from Albi, a considerable town of Guienne, were a branch from this parent stock; and in common with the Waldenses, they opposed the errors and superstitions of the Romish Church. Such an enormity could not pass unpunished; and Peter de Bruys, one of their first teachers, was condemned to be burned. Their adversaries charged them with the errors of Manicheism: but certainly no errors of that nature appear to have been proved against them in the councils which subscribed their condemnation, though some of the later adherents to this sect appear to have imbibed the reveries of the Gnostics. The Cathari, Paterini, and Publi-

ters of the Waldensian history. Though these writers are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines which entered into the system of this sect, yet they are almost all unanimous in acknowledging the sincere piety and exemplary conduct of the Waldenses, and shew plainly enough that their intention was not to oppose the doctrines universally received among Christians, but only to revive the piety and manners of the primitive times.

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cans, whose tenets were similar to theirs, partook of their condemnation, though under different names.

Enthusiasm and superstition were not in this century of ignorance confined to the professors of christianity. In 1137, the Persians were disturbed by a Jew, who called himself the Messiah, and collected together a formidable army of his countrymen. The Persian monarch submitted to a treaty with this religious usurper; he paid him a sum of money on the condition of disbanding his soldiers, but afterwards seized and beheaded him, and compelled the Jews to refund the money he had given to their messiah, which reduced them to beggary, and even to the necessity of selling their children. In the following year, a false Christ appeared in France. He was put to death, and many Jews suffered at the same time, under the accusation, real or imaginary, of sacrificing a male christian child, once a year. About the year 1157, an impostor under the title of the Messiah, incited the Jews to revolt at Corduba, and this unfortunate event occasioned the destruction of almost all the Jews in Spain. In 1167, another false prophet appeared in Arabia, who pretended to be the forerunner of the Messiah. When search was made for him, he was soon deserted by his followers; and being questioned by the Arabian king, he replied that he was indeed a prophet sent from God. The king requiring a sign in confirmation

mation of his mission, the unfortunate fanatic desired him to cut off his head, and asserted that he should presently see him restored to life. The request was complied with, and the king had liberality enough to promise his belief, on the accomplishment of the miracle. The event, however, by no means corresponded with the professions of the prophet, and the Arabian Jews were condemned to a heavy fine. In 1174, a magician and false Christ occasioned great trouble to the Jews in Persia; and in two years after another arose in Moldavia, called David Almuffer. He pretended, that he could make himself invincible; but he was taken, and a severe fine extorted from the Jews.

C H A P. III.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE
• TWELFTH CENTURY.

*Literature of the Greeks—Anna Comnena—Eustathius, &c.
—In the West, St. Bernard—Abelard—Anselm—William
of Tyre, &c.*

THE fun of literature, which had only risen in the preceding century, proceeded gradually in this to enlighten the whole Christian world. In the year 1081 Alexius Comnenus was elected to the Byzantine throne*, and extended every encouragement to the cultivation of letters. His elegant and accomplished daughter, Anna Comnena, has written his life, or rather his panegyric. As a history, it is blamed for that partiality, which was the natural result of her situation; as a composition, its only fault is the excess of ornament. The cultivation of history flourished indeed during the whole of this century at the court of Constantinople†. The learned commentaries of Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, upon Homer and Dionysius, amply display the taste and ardour

* Jortin, V. 45.

† Among the historians of that age and country, are, Joannes Cinnamus, Michael Glycas, Joannes Zonaras, and Nicephorus Briennius.

of the age for the revival of classical literature ; whilst the disputes between the Greek and Latin Churches produced a number of polemics, whose labours are perhaps disregarded only because they were employed upon unworthy subjects.

In the western regions of Christendom several men of genius appeared during the course of this century. St. Bernard has been already noticed. He seems to have been an enthusiast from his youth, or rather perhaps a character consisting of enthusiasm blended with artifice, such as is not uncommon. In the course of his life he is said to have refused several bishoprics : but it must be remarked, that he was far more respected as an abbot, than if he had condescended to become an archbishop. He could create popes, command kings, and influence councils ; and, in fact, appears to have been a man of consummate address and popular eloquence, with no small share of effrontery. His writings are celebrated by his admirers, for their elegance and wit ; indeed his genius appears to have been too acute, and he was too much a man of the world, to adopt the rugged, scholastic dialect of the times. He was born at Fontaines, a city of Burgundy ; in 1091, established the abbey of Clairvaux, of which he himself was the head ; and died in 1153, leaving one hundred and sixty monasteries of his order. His genius was unremittingly employed in the servile office of supporting the errors of the Church of

Rome, and in the persecution of such as contradicted her doctrines; his voluminous works are chiefly controversial, except some mystical expositions of Solomon's Song, the eulogy of the Knights Templars, and one or two practical treatises on the love of God, humility, &c. *

The character of Abelard is more respectable than that of his successful antagonist Bernard, by whose means it was that Abelard was compelled to commit to the flames his own treatise on the Unity of God. The theological opinions of Abelard appear not to have been free from error, but they were far more enlightened than those of his contemporaries. His erudition was extensive, but he was too much addicted to the logic of the schools, though he was not without a tincture of classical elegance. He lived a life of almost continual persecution†, and died, 1142, in the sixty-third year of his age, "worthy of a better age, and better fortune‡." His adventures are well known, and his name is rendered popular by the most pathetic and elegant production of the muse of Pope.

The subtilties of scholastic divinity were extended by the writings of Peter Lombard, and Gilbert de la Porree, bishop of Poitiers. The incomprehensible opinions of Gilbert respecting the incar-

* Du Pin, T. IV. Mosh. Cent. 12. Jortin, V. 223.

† See Du Pin, Cent. 12.

‡ Jortin, V. 227.

nation and divine essence drew upon him the wrath of the zealous Bernard, whose disapprobation had too much weight over popes and councils to render the situation of the bishop perfectly safe. The prudent prelate therefore publicly retracted his real or imaginary errors. Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, acquired some reputation in this age in the controversy with the Greeks; Otho, bishop of Friburg, composed a chronological history from the creation to his own time. William of Tyre (poisoned by a rival clergyman, who coveted his preferments) and James de Vitri are known among the historians of the holy war.— There were also at this period a numerous herd of ephemeral authors, whose works chiefly consisted of the lives of saints, relations of miracles, and local chronicles *. The scholastic history of Petrus Comestor may be ranked with these performances, though for a series of years it was accounted a body of positive theology †.

Amongst the Jewish writers of this period, were R. Salomon Jarchi, Aben Ezra, David and Moses Kimchi, Moses Ben Maimon and Moses Nachmanides. At the same time flourished the two learned Arabians, Avicenna and Averroës, who commented on Aristotle with considerable ability.

* Du Pin.

† Jortin, V. 240.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS
CENTURY.

*Success of the Nestorians in China, &c.—Fourth Crusade—
Conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders—Fifth Crusade
under Frederic II.—Sixth Crusade under Lewis IX. of
France—Recovery of Spain by the Christians—Power of
the Popes increased—Pragmatic Sanction—Innocent III.
—Contest with the Emperor Otho—John King of England
—Honorius III.—Gregory IX.—Celestine IV.—Innocent
IV.—Celestine V.—Boniface VIII.*

THOUGH the successors of Gengis-Kan, the celebrated emperor of the Tartars, or rather of the Moguls, had carried their victorious arms through a great part of Asia, and, having reduced China, India, and Persia, under their yoke, involved in many calamities and sufferings the Christian societies established in these vanquished lands; yet it is certain, from the most respectable authorities, that, both in China and in the northern parts

parts of Asia, the Nestorians continued to maintain a flourishing church, and a great number of adherents. The emperor of the Tartars and Moguls had no great aversion to the Christian religion; and it appears from authentic records, that several of the kings and nobles of these nations had either been instructed in the doctrines of the Gospel by their ancestors, or were converted to Christianity by the ministry and exhortations of the Nestorians. The activity of the Roman pontiffs did not permit them to neglect so favourable an opportunity of extending their power, and missionaries were dispatched into Asia, with instructions to induce the different churches to a proper subjection to the holy see. A version of the Psalms of David, and a translation of the New Testament, were also transmitted to these semi-barbarians.—But the religion of Mahomet, which was so adapted to flatter the passions of men, infected, by degrees, these imperfect converts, opposed with success the progress of the gospel, and at length so completely triumphed over it, that not the least remains of Christianity were to be perceived in the courts of the eastern princes.

The Roman pontiffs employed their most zealous and assiduous efforts in the support of the Christian cause in Palestine, which was now in a most declining, or rather in a desperate state. Innocent III. founded the charge; but the greater part of the European princes and nations were deaf to

the voice of the holy trumpet. After many unsuccessful attempts however, in different countries, a number of the French nobility entered into an alliance with the republic of Venice, and set sail for the east, with an army which was far from being formidable. The event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to the expectation of the pontiff. The French and Venetians, instead of steering their course towards Palestine, sailed directly for Constantinople, and, in the year 1203, took that imperial city by storm, with a design to restore to the throne Isaac Angelus, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother Alexius, the usurper of the empire. The following year a dreadful sedition was raised at Constantinople, in which the emperor Isaac was put to death; and his son, the young Alexius, was strangled by Alexius Ducas, the leader of this furious faction: but the account of this parricide was no sooner communicated to the heroes of the crusade, than they reconquered the imperial city, dethroned and exiled the tyrant Ducas, and elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was, however, the source of new divisions; for about two years after, the Greeks resolved to elect, in opposition to the Latin emperor, one of their own nation, and chose for that purpose Theodore Lascaris, who removed the imperial court to Nice in Bithynia. From this period until the year 1261,

two emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one of their own nation, who resided at Nice; and the other of Latin or French extraction, who lived at Constantinople, the ancient metropolis of the empire. But in the year 1261, the face of affairs was changed by the Grecian emperor Michael Palæologus, who, by the valour and stratagems of his general Cæsar Alexius, became master of Constantinople, and compelled the Latin emperor Baldwin II. to abandon that city, and save himself by flight into Italy. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at Constantinople, after a duration of fifty-seven years*.

The legates and missionaries of the court of Rome still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European princes in behalf of the Christian cause in Palestine, and to revive the spirit of the crusades, which so many calamities and disasters, together with their notorious abuse, had almost totally extinguished. In consequence of their remonstrances, a new army was raised, and a new expedition undertaken, which was to be commanded by the emperor Frederic II. who was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim of the Church. At the age of twenty-one years, he assumed the cross, and devoted himself, by a solemn vow, to the accomplishment of this expedition.—

* This revolution, which belongs more to civil than ecclesiastical history, is related with his usual spirit by Mr. Gibbon.

His engagement received additional strength, such as it appeared impossible to violate, from the marriage which he had contracted, in the year 1223, with Jolanda, daughter of John, count of Brienne, and king of Jerusalem, by which alliance that kingdom was to be added to his European dominions. Notwithstanding this, the expedition of the emperor was repeatedly deferred under various pretexts, and did not take place till the year 1228, when, after having been excommunicated on account of his delay, by the incensed pontiff, Gregory IX.* Frederic proceeded, with a small train of attendants, to the troops, who expected, with the most anxious impatience, his arrival in Palestine. No sooner however did the emperor reach that disputed kingdom, than he turned all his thoughts towards peace, and, partly from the discord of the Mahometans, and partly from their personal esteem for him, he was enabled to conclude an advantageous

* This papal excommunication, which was drawn up in the most outrageous and indecent language, was so far from exciting Frederic to accelerate his departure for Palestine, that it was received by him with the utmost contempt. He defended himself by his ambassador at Rome, and shewed that the reasons of his delay were solid and just, and not mere pretexts, as the pope had asserted. At the same time, he wrote a remarkable letter to Henry III. king of England, in which he complains of the insatiable avarice, the boundless ambition, the perfidious and hypocritical proceedings of the Roman pontiffs. See Fleury, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, livr. lxxix. tom. xvi. p. 601. edit. Bruxelles.

treaty with the sultan of Egypt in the following year. By this treaty he obtained possession of the city and kingdom of Jerusalem, of Tyre and Sidon; and entering into the holy city with unparalleled pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, he placed the crown upon his head with his own hands. Having regulated with much prudence and moderation the government of Palestine, Frederic returned without delay into Italy, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontiff had excited in his absence. In reality therefore, notwithstanding all the reproaches which were cast upon the emperor by the pope and his agents, this expedition was by far the most successful that had hitherto been undertaken against the Infidels.

After this solitary effort, the affairs of the Christians in the east perceptibly declined. Intestine discords and ill-conducted expeditions had reduced them almost to the last extremity, when Lewis IX. king of France attempted their restoration. This enterprise was in consequence of a vow, which the prince had made in the year 1248, when he was seized with a painful and dangerous illness. He soon undertook the arduous task, and, in the execution of it, he embarked for Egypt with a formidable army and a numerous fleet, from an opinion that the conquest of this province would enable him to carry on the war in Syria and Palestine with more facility and success. The first attempts of the
zealous

zealous monarch were crowned with victory : the celebrated city of Damietta yielded to his arms ; but the smiling prospect was soon changed, and the progress of the war presented one uniform scene of calamity and desolation. The united horrors of famine and pestilence overwhelmed the royal army, whose provisions were cut off by the Mahometans. In the year 1250, Robert earl of Artois, the king's own brother, having surprised the Saracen army, and, through an excess of valour, pursued them too far, was slain in the engagement ; and, a few days after, the king himself, with two more of his brothers, and the greater part of his army, were taken prisoners in a severe action, after a bold and obstinate resistance. This valiant monarch, who was endowed with true greatness of mind, and who was sincerely pious, though after the manner which prevailed in this age of superstition and darkness, was ransomed at an immense price (about 190,000*l.* sterling), and, after having spent about four years in Palestine, returned into France in the year 1254, with a handful of men, the miserable remains of his formidable army.

No calamities, however, could deject the courage or damp the invincible spirit of Lewis ; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already performed in Palestine. He therefore resolved upon a new expedition, fitted out a formidable fleet, with which he set sail for Africa, and proposed

proposed to begin in that part of the world his operations against the Infidels, that he might either convert them to the Christian faith, or draw from their treasures the means of carrying on more effectually an Asiatic war. He made himself master of the fort of Carthage; but this first success was soon followed by a fatal change. A pestilential disease broke out in the fleet in the harbour of Tunis, carried off the greatest part of the army, and seized at length the monarch himself, who fell a victim to its rage, on the 25th of August, in the year 1270. Lewis was the last of the European princes who embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, the calamities and disorders, and the enormous expences which accompanied each crusade, disgusted the most zealous, and discouraged the most intrepid promoters of these fanatical expeditions. In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the east declined with rapidity, notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to maintain and support it; and in the year 1291, after the taking of Ptolemais, or Acre, by the Mahometans, it was entirely overthrown*. It is natural to inquire into the true causes which contributed to this unhappy revolution in Palestine; and these causes are evident. We must not seek for them either in the counsels or in the valour of the Infidels, but in the

* Ant. Matthæi *Analekta Veteris Ævi*, tom. v. p. 748. Jac. Echardi *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 422. Imola in *Dantem*, in Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. Medi Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1111, 1112.

diffensions which prevailed in the Christian armies, in the profligate lives of those who called themselves the champions of the cross, and in the ignorance and obstinacy, the avarice and insolence of the pope's legates.

During the progress of these commotions, many efforts were employed to re-unite the Greek and Latin churches. The Roman pontiffs were at all times desirous of a reconciliation upon certain terms, which must be allowed to be few in number, but tolerably comprehensive, since they included a renunciation of every particular opinion on which a difference between the churches had arisen. In 1233 a conference took place at Nice between the Byzantine patriarch and deputies from the pope, in which the different questions in dispute were agitated, but without any effect. The Greek emperors, on recovering their dominions, from political motives endeavoured to conciliate the regard of the Roman pontiffs, by offering to accede to their requisitions. But repeated impediments were opposed to the re-union, and the emperor Andronicus formally annulled every project of this nature which had been proposed by his predecessors.

The kings of Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Arragon, at this period, waged perpetual war with the Saracen princes in Spain, who still retained under their dominion the kingdoms of Valentia, Granada and Murcia, together with the province of Andalusia. The efforts of the Christian potentates were, however, so

successful,

successful, that the Saracen dominion rapidly declined, and was daily reduced within narrower bounds, while the limits of the church were extended on every side. The princes, who principally contributed to this revolution, were Ferdinand king of Castile and Leon, who, after his death, obtained a place in the calendar, with his father Alphonso IX. king of Leon, and James I. king of Arragon. This prince particularly distinguished himself by his fervent zeal for the advancement of Christianity; and no sooner made himself master of Valentia in the year 1236, than he employed, with the utmost assiduity, every possible method of converting to the faith his Arabian subjects, whose expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the Dominicans, whose ministry he principally employed in this salutary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and founded public schools at Majorca and Barcelona, in which a considerable number of youth were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the Gospel in that language. When these pious efforts were found ineffectual, the Roman pontiff, Clement IV. exhorted the king to expel the Mahometans from Spain. The obsequious prince followed the counsel of the inconsiderate and intolerant priest; in the execution of which, however, he met with much difficulty, both from the opposition of the Spanish nobles, and

and from the obstinacy of the Moors, who however retained only the kingdom of Granada*.

The history of the Latin Church during this period presents a lively picture of the ignorance, profligacy, and turbulence of the times. In order to establish their authority, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, upon the firmest foundations, the Roman pontiffs assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the various offices of the church, whether of a higher or more subordinate nature, and of creating bishops, abbots, and canons, without the consent of the sovereigns or the people. The first of the popes who usurped this extravagant extent of authority, was Innocent III. whose example was followed by Honorius III. Gregory IX. and several of their successors. It was however ardently opposed by the bishops, who had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of nominating to the smaller benefices, and still more effectually by the kings of England and France, who employed the force of warm remonstrances and vigorous edicts, to stop the progress of this new jurisprudence†. Lewis IX. king of France, and now the tutelar saint of that nation, distinguished himself by his spirited opposition to these papal encroach-

* See Geddes, *the History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 26.

† Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 659, and principally tom. iv. p. 911.

ments. In the year 1268, before his departure for the Holy Land, he secured the rights of the Gallican Church against the insidious attempts of the Roman pontiffs, by that famous edict, which is known by the name of the *Pragmatic Sanction**. This resolute and prudent measure rendered the pontiffs more cautious and slow in their proceedings, but did not terrify them from the prosecution of their purpose. Boniface VIII. indeed maintained, in the most express terms, that the universal church was under the dominion of the popes, and that princes and lay-patrons, councils and chapters, had no power in spiritual things, but what they derived from Christ's vicar upon earth.

The legates, whom the pontiffs sent into the provinces to represent their persons, and execute their orders, imitated, in the whole of their conduct, the avarice and insolence of their employers. They violated the privileges of the chapters; disposed of the smaller, and sometimes of the more important ecclesiastical benefices, in favour of such as had gained them by bribes, or powerful recommendations †; they extorted money from the people, by the vilest and most iniquitous means; excited tumults among the multitude; and carried on, in the most scandalous manner, the traffic of *relics* and *indulgences*. Hence we find the writers of this age complaining unanimously of the conduct of the

* Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. p. 389.

† See Baluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 437. 475. 480, &c.

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pope's legates *. Nay, we find Pope Alexander IV. enacting, in the year 1256, a severe law against the avarice and frauds of these corrupt ministers†, which, however, they easily evaded, by their friends and their credit at the court of Rome.

From the ninth century to this period, the wealth and revenues of the popes had not received any considerable augmentation; but at this time they were greatly increased under Innocent III. and Nicolas III. partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of kings and emperors. Innocent was no sooner seated in the papal chair, than he reduced under his jurisdiction the prefect of Rome, who had hitherto been considered as subject to the emperor, to whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He also seized upon Ancona, Spoleto, Assisi, and several cities and fortresses, which had, according to him, been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter. In addition to this, Frederic II. who was extremely desirous that the pope should espouse his quarrel with Otho IV. loaded the Roman See with the richest marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble present in lands to the brother of his holiness, but also permitted Richard count of Fundi to leave, by will,

* See that judicious and excellent writer, Matth. Paris, in his *Historia Major*, p. 313. 316. 549.

† This edict is published by Lami, in his *Deliciae Eruditorum*, tom. ii. p. 300.

all his possessions to the Roman See*, and confirmed the immense donation which had formerly been made by the opulent Matilda. Such was the progress that Innocent III. made, during his pontificate, in augmenting the splendour and wealth of the church. Nicolas IV. followed his example with the warmest emulation; and, in the year 1278, exhibited a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obstinacy, in refusing to crown the emperor Rodolphus I. before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn treaty, all the pretensions of the Roman See, of which, if some were plausible, the greater part were altogether groundless, or dubious at least. This agreement, to which all the Italian princes subject to the emperor were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than Nicolas reduced under his temporal dominion several cities and territories in Italy, which had formerly been annexed to the Imperial crown, particularly Romania and Bologna. It was therefore under these two pontiffs that the See of Rome arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur and opulence which till the reformation it retained †.

Innocent III. who remained at the head of the church until the year 1216, followed the steps of

* Odor. Raynaldus, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad A. 1212, f. 2.*

† See Raynaldus, *loc. cit. ad A. 1278, f. 47.*

Gregory VII. and not only usurped the despotic government of the church, but claimed the empire of the world, and appeared to indulge the lofty project of subjecting the kings and princes of the earth to an hierarchical sceptre. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance*, clouded the lustre of any good qualities which his panegyrists have thought proper to attribute to him. In Asia and Europe, he disposed of crowns and sceptres with the most wanton ambition. In Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians; in Europe, he usurped the same extravagant privilege, and conferred the regal dignity upon Primislaus, duke of Bohemia. In the same year 1204, he sent to Johannicus, duke of Bulgaria and Wallachia, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the pontiff, invested that prince with the ensigns and honours of royalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned Peter II. of Arragon, who had rendered his dominions subject and tributary to the church, and saluted him publicly at Rome with the title of king.

But the ambition of this pope was not satisfied with the distribution and government of these petty kingdoms: he extended his views farther, and resolved to render the power and majesty of the Roman See formidable to the greatest European monarchs, and even to the emperors themselves.

* See Matth. *Hist. Major.* p. 206. 230.

When the empire of Germany was disputed, towards the commencement of this century, between Philip duke of Swabia and Otho IV. third son of Henry Lion, he espoused, at first, the cause of Otho, excommunicated Philip, and, upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as Otho was by no means disposed to submit to the arbitrary determinations of the pontiff, or to satiate his ambitious desires, he consequently incurred the indignation of his spiritual patron; and Innocent declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the empire, raised to the imperial throne his pupil, Frederic II. the son of Henry VI. and king of the two Sicilies, in the year 1212*. Bolder and more successful than his predecessor Celestine, he excommunicated the king of France, for having dissolved his marriage with Ingelburg, and espousing another. The licentious king still continued inflexible, and this *spouse of the church* (for such was the appellation assumed by Innocent) hurled his menaces and anathemas against the offending monarch, and laid the whole kingdom under an interdict which prohibited the celebration of divine worship. Philip, though probably unconcerned for his guilt, yet aware of his danger, at length repudiated the beautiful

* All this is amply illustrated in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 247.

Agnes, received again his queen, and appeased the resentment of the Holy See *.

Amongst the different royal victims to the ambition of Innocent, John surnamed Sans Terre, king of England, was particularly exposed to his fury and despotism. This prince opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the monks of Canterbury to choose Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal of English descent, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of John de Grey to that dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority. The pope, after having consecrated Langton at Viterbo, wrote a soothing letter in his favour, to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the indignation of the offended monarch; he sent a body of troops to expel from the kingdom the monks of Canterbury, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive Langton as their archbishop, and declared to the pope, that if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of Canterbury, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequence of such presumptuous obstinacy would, eventually, prove fatal to

* Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 8.—Daniel, *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 475.—Gerhard Du Bois, *Histoire Eccles. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 204—257.

the papal authority in England. Innocent was, however, so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that in the year 1208 he sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the kingdom under an interdict, if the monarch still refused to yield and to receive Langton. John, alarmed at this menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to confirm the election made at Rome; but, in the act which was drawn up for the purpose, he wisely introduced a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance which might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the interdict was proclaimed. A general stop was immediately put to the public offices of religion; the churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments was suspended, except that of baptism; the dead were buried in the highways, without the usual rites, or any funeral solemnity. But notwithstanding this interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine service; and several learned and respectable divines, among whom were the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, protested against the injustice of the pope's proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects which were expected from it, the pontiff denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued in the year 1208, was followed, about three

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years after, by a bull absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him on pain of excommunication. In the year 1212, Innocent extended his tyranny to a still more enormous length: he assembled a council of cardinals and prelates, deposed John, declared the throne of England vacant, and wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of England, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He at the same time published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute whatever was in their power to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded Philip in this grand enterprise, the same indulgences as were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in Palestine. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of England. The king of England, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the pope's legate, arrived at Dover, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and allay the storm. This artful legate terrified the king (who met him at that place) with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip, and the disaffection of the English, and persuaded him, that there were no possible means left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French king, but those of putting
them

them under the protection of the Roman See. The proposal was made at the most embarrassing crisis for the unfortunate John: full of diffidence, both in the nobles of his court, and the officers of his army, he complied at length with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the See of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory*. In the act by which he resigned his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear nor by force, but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice and with the consent of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he, or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission, now stipulated, to the See of Rome, should forfeit all their right to the British crown†. "This shameful ceremony was

* For a full account of this shameful ceremony, see Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 189. 192. 195. As also Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 67. Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 304.

† *Cadet a jure regni*, is the expression used in the *Charter of Resignation*, which may be seen at length in the *Hist. Major* of Matthew Paris.

"performed,"

“performed,” says a modern historian*, “on
 “Ascension-day, in the house of the Templars at
 “Dover, in the midst of a great concourse of
 “people, who beheld it with confusion and indig-
 “nation. John, in doing homage to the Pope,
 “presented a sum of money to his representative,
 “which the proud legate trampled under his feet,
 “as a mark of the king’s dependence. Every
 “spectator glowed with resentment, and the arch-
 “bishop of Dublin exclaimed aloud against such
 “intolerable insolence. Pandulf, not satisfied with
 “this mortifying act of superiority, kept the crown
 “and sceptre five whole days, and then restored
 “them as a special favour of the Roman See.
 “John was despised before this extraordinary re-
 “signation; but now he was looked upon as a
 “contemptible wretch, unworthy to sit upon a
 “throne; while he himself seemed altogether in-
 “sensible of his disgrace.”

Innocent III. was succeeded in the pontificate
 by Concio Savelli, who assumed the title of Ho-
 norius III. ruled the church about ten years, and
 whose government, though not signalized by such
 audacious exploits as those of his predecessors,
 discovered an ardent zeal for maintaining the pre-
 tensions, and supporting the despotism of the
 Roman See.

In the year 1227, Hugolinus, bishop of Ostia,
 whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire

* See Dr. Smollet’s History of England, vol. i. p. 437.

of ambition, nor diminished the firmness and obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the pontificate, assumed the title of Gregory IX. and rekindled the feuds and dissensions, which had already secretly subsisted between the church and the empire, into an open and violent flame. No sooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, contrary to all justice and order, he excommunicated the emperor for deferring his expedition against the Saracens to another year, though that delay was manifestly owing to a fit of sickness, which seized that prince when he was ready to embark for Palestine. In the year 1228, Frederic at length departed, and arrived in the Holy Land. But during the absence* of the emperor, the insidious pontiff made war upon his dominions, and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. Frederic, however, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into Europe in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in Sicily and Italy, and the year following made his peace with the pontiff, from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace was but of a short duration; nor was it possible for the emperor to bear the insolent proceedings, and the imperious

* Under the feeble reign of Henry III. the Pope drew immense sums out of England for the support of this impious war, and carried his avarice so far, as to demand the fifth part of the ecclesiastical revenues of the whole kingdom.

temper of Gregory. He therefore broke all measures with the pontiff, distressed the states of Lombardy which were in alliance with the See of Rome, seized upon the island of Sardinia, which Gregory considered as a part of his spiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his son Entius. These, with other measures equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of Gregory, drew the thunder of the Vatican afresh upon the emperor's head. In the year 1239, Frederic was excommunicated publicly, with all the circumstances of severity which vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies, by the exasperated pontiff, who sent a copy of this accusation to all the courts of Europe. The emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the pontiff to the greatest distress. To extricate himself from these difficulties, Gregory convened, in the year 1240, a general council at Rome, with a view to depose Frederic by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals and prelates, who were to compose that assembly. But the emperor disconcerted the project, by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greater part of these prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all

6 committed

committed to close confinement. This disappointment, attended with others, which gave an unhappy turn to his affairs, and blasted his most promising expectations, dejected and consumed the despairing pontiff, and contributed probably to the conclusion of his days, which happened soon after this remarkable event *.

Geoffry, bishop of Milan, who succeeded Gregory IX. under the title of Celestine IV. died before his consecration, and after a vacancy of twenty months the apostolic chair was filled by Sinibald, one of the counts of Fiesque, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1243, and assumed the denomination of Innocent IV. His elevation offered at first a prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the emperor; and accordingly conferences were opened, and a reconciliation was proposed; but the terms offered by the new pope were too imperious and extravagant, not to be rejected with indignation by the emperor†. Hence it was, that Innocent, not esteeming himself safe in any part of Italy, set out from Genoa, the

* Besides the original and authentic authors collected by Muratori, See Petrus De Vincis, *Epistol. lib. i.* and Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*. Add to these Raynaldi *Annal.*—Muratori *Annal. Ital.* tom. vii. and *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iv. p. 325. 517.

† These preliminary conditions were: I. That the emperor should entirely surrender to the church the inheritance which was left to it by Matilda; and II. That he would oblige himself to submit to whatever terms the pope should think fit to propose as conditions of peace.

place of his birth, for Lyons, in the year 1244, and, assembling there a council the following year, deposed, in their presence, though not with their approbation, the emperor Frederic, and declared the Imperial throne vacant*. This unjust and insolent measure was regarded with such veneration, and considered as so weighty by the German princes, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and elevated first, Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, and after his death, William, count of Holland, to the Imperial throne. Frederic, whose firm and heroic spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in Italy, till a violent dysentery ended his days in Apulia, the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adversary, Innocent returned into Italy†, hoping now to enjoy with security the fruits of his ambition. These dissensions are supposed to have occasioned the rise of the celebrated faction of the Guelphs, who strenuously asserted the authority of the Roman See; and of the Gibelins, who supported the Imperial rights. Their origin is however involved in almost impenetrable obscurity, and has occasioned numberless conjectures and disputes.

* This assembly is placed in the list of *œcumenical*, or general councils; but it is not acknowledged as such by the Gallican Church.

† Besides the writers already mentioned, see Nicol. de Curbio, *Vita Innocentii IV.* in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 353.

Some authors have conceived that Frederic II. in making the tour of Italy, distinguished those of his own party by the word *gebieter*, *imperator*, which by corruption formed the word *Gibeline*. Other historians refer the origin of these factions to the year 1139, when Conrad III. marched against the Neapolitans; and add, that Roger, count of Naples and Sicily, obtained upon this occasion the assistance of Guelph, duke of Bavaria, and that upon the approach of the contending armies, the Bavarians exclaimed *hie Guelph*, *here Guelph*, to which the Imperialists replied on their side, *hie*, or *hier Gibelin*, *here Gibelin*, distinguishing the emperor by the name of his birth-place. By other accounts we are informed, that these appellations were derived from two gentlemen of Pistoia, brothers, who mutually indulged an implacable animosity, and gave their own names to the different parties who supported their respective causes. Maimbourg conjectures that they derived their origin from the quarrels between two illustrious houses on the confines of Germany, the Henrys of Gibeling, and the Guelphs of Adorf. Various other conjectures have been adopted upon this subject: thus much is however certain, that their mutual hatred and sanguinary violence comprise almost the whole of the Italian history during nearly three centuries.

In the short pontificates of the three successors of Innocent IV. no material transactions occurred. On the decease of Clement IV. the intrigues
and

and divisions of the cardinals retarded the election of a pope during three years: their suffrages were however at length united in favour of Peter, bishop of Ostia, who assumed the pontificate, and the name of Gregory X. in the year 1272. Impressed with a deep sense of the mischiefs occasioned by the cabals of the cardinals in the election of a successor to the chair of St. Peter, Gregory enacted, that, on these occasions, they should be confined in a place called the Conclave, during the time of their deliberations. This law, calculated to prevent the evils of an interregnum in the church, was revoked by his successors Adrian V. and John XXI. but renewed and confirmed by Celestine V. who was elected to the papacy in 1294. The retired habits and humble dispositions of the virtuous Celestine were little adapted to the station he had been persuaded to assume; and the intrigues of the cardinal Benedict Cajetan easily induced him to relinquish his post. The same year, which beheld the reluctant acceptance, and cheerful resignation of the papal chair by the humble Celestine, witnessed the elevation of the haughty Cajetan, who took the name of Boniface VIII. This unworthy prelate was destined to be a scourge both to the church and state, a disturber of the repose of nations, and his attempts to extend and confirm the despotism of the Roman pontiffs, were carried to a length that approached to frenzy. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to supreme
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and irresistible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual and temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, summoned princes and sovereign states before his tribunal to decide their quarrels, augmented the papal jurisprudence with a new body of laws, which was entitled the Sixth Book of the Decretals, declared war against the illustrious family of Colonna, who disputed his title to the pontificate* ; and exhibited to the Church, and to Europe, a lively image of the tyrannical administration of Gregory VII. whom he perhaps surpassed in arrogance.

* The reasons they alleged for disputing the title of Boniface to the pontificate, were, that the resignation of Celestine was not *canonical*, and that it was obtained by fraudulent means.

C H A P. II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, CEREMONIES, &c.

*Transubstantiation—Auricular Confession—Flagellants—
Rise of the Dominicans—of the Franciscans—Anecdote
relating to their Wealth—Religious Exhibitions—Festival
of the Holy Sacrament—Carrying the Host—Jubilee.*

THE absurd and groundless superstitions, which deformed the practice of the Church, were rather increased than reformed during this century. The progress of reason and truth was retarded among the Greeks and Orientals by their absurd admiration of whatever bore the stamp of antiquity, by the indolence of their bishops, the stupidity of their clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among the Latins, many concurring causes united to augment the darkness of that cloud which had already been cast over the divine lustre of genuine Christianity. The Roman pontiffs were averse to every thing which might have the remotest tendency to diminish their authority, or to encroach upon their prerogatives : and the school-divines spread perplexity and darkness over the plain truths of religion, by their intricate distinctions.

It will be easy to confirm this general account of the state of religion by particular facts. In the fourth council of the Lateran, which was held by Innocent

Innocent III. in the year 1215, and at which a prodigious number of ecclesiastics*, and ambassadors from almost every court in Christendom, were assembled, the pontiff, without condescending to enter into any consultation, produced seventy canons already prepared, which were read to the assembly, who submissively subscribed the decrees, in which, however, they had the consolation to find their own powers extended and confirmed. The first canon contained a confession of faith, in which the opinion, which is still maintained by the Romish Church respecting the eucharist, was pronounced by Innocent to be the only true and orthodox account of the Lord's supper; and he *had the honour* of establishing the use of the term *Transubstantiation* †, which was hitherto almost unknown ‡. Innocent III. had also the credit of instituting, by his own authority, among the duties prescribed by the divine laws, that of *auricular confession* to a priest; a confession, which implied not only a general acknowledgment, but also a particular enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent.

This century was further distinguished by the in-

* Bishops 412. Abbots and Priors nearly 800.

† The word was invented by Petrus Blesensis, A. D. 1160. Cave ii. 233.

‡ These superstitions had been gradually advancing for a series of years. In 1201, the pope's legate at Cologne ordered that, in the mass, at the elevation of the host (Hostia, or sacrifice, so the sacred elements were called) all the people should prostrate themselves. Jortin, v. 351.

stitution of two of the most celebrated orders of monks which have ever misled or disturbed the world. The one was founded by Dominic of Castile, and the other by Francis, an Italian. The former of these fanatics rendered himself remarkable by his zeal against the heretics, and particularly in the infamous crusade against the Albigenses. By his influence, a new society of monks was established, under the authority of Innocent III. and Honorius III. for the express purpose of extirpating heresy; and formed the basis of the inquisition. These monks were at first distinguished by the name of the Preaching Friars; and, in England, by that of Black Friars. They are bound by their founder to a vow of perpetual poverty, to which however, as a society, they have by no means adhered.

The Franciscans, who were established in 1207 (a few years later than the Dominicans), originally pretended to no property, but lived upon the contributions of their audience, went barefoot, were very poorly habited, and pretended to great mortification. In 1243, there arose a violent dispute between the Franciscans and Dominicans, concerning the preference and dignity of their respective orders. The Dominicans insisted upon the priority of their institution, the advantage of their habit, and the credit of their distinction, being called Predicatores, or the preaching fraternity, and added, that this character approached to the apostolical function and dignity. The Franciscans

asserted that their order had greater marks of humility and mortification, that the preference ought to be measured by the degrees of self-denial and discipline; that for these considerations, theirs must be esteemed the superior order, and that it would be a mark of improvement in the Dominicans, to incorporate with them. In one point, however, both were agreed: each order had made an astonishing progress in wealth and reputation; their cloisters were decorated like the abodes of princes, and not a trace of their primitive poverty appeared; and their credit was so greatly advanced, that few thought themselves secure of salvation, without the assistance of one of the Dominican or the Franciscan brethren, as a spiritual director. Nor had they confined their views to the management of private concerns, but had intruded into the highest offices of trust.

Such indeed was the opulence of these orders, that, as early as the year 1299, the Franciscans applied to pope Boniface, offering him 40,000 ducats of gold, and a prodigious quantity of silver, if he would enable them by his bull to become the purchasers of estates, and to live like the other orders. When the pope inquired whether their money was ready, they answered it was, and lodged in the bankers' hands. Upon this, he ordered them to withdraw, and return in three days for his answer. In the mean time he sent to the bankers, absolved them from their obligation to

restore the money to the monks, and charged them, under pain of excommunication, to reserve it for the use of the Roman See. When the Franciscans returned at the day appointed, in expectation of their *diploma*, the pope told them that he found, upon consideration, it was not advisable to dispense with St. Francis's mite, and therefore they must of necessity continue* under their first engagements, to live without property.

Several orders of mendicant friars, besides the celebrated societies already mentioned, arose in this century. These were the creatures of the pope, devoted to his interests, and ready to undertake every employment which could effect his ambitious projects. Equally solicitous for power with the other regular clergy, they encroached upon the privileges of the priests; were involved in disputes with them during a considerable part of the thirteenth century, and occasioned innumerable contentions between the universities and the different clerical orders.

About the year 1250, organs† were introduced into churches, and every possible addition was made to the external part of divine worship, in order to increase its pomp and render it more cap-

* West. ad 1299.

† Thomas Aquinas says in his *Summa*—“Our church does not use musical instruments, as harps and psalteries, that she may not seem to judaize.” Marinus Sanutus, who introduced wind organs into churches, was called *Torcellus* (the name of an organ). Bing. lib. viii. c. 7.

tivating. These additions were partly introduced by the public edicts of the Roman pontiffs, and partly by the private injunctions of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who shared the veneration which was excited in the multitude by the magnificence of this religious spectacle. Perhaps the ignorance of the age, when but few persons, even in the higher ranks, could either write or read, might suggest the idea, or might at least form an excuse for the splendid scenes which were exhibited to the external senses.

At certain stated periods, and especially upon the more illustrious festivals, the miraculous dispensations of the divine wisdom in favour of the church, and the more remarkable events in Christian history, were represented under certain allegorical figures and images, or rather in a kind of pantomimic shew. But these scenic representations, in which there was a motley mixture of mirth and gravity; these tragi-comical spectacles, though they amused and affected the gazing populace, were highly detrimental, instead of being useful to the cause of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furnished abundant matter of derision to its enemies.

But perhaps the most extravagant of absurdities was the institution of the celebrated annual *Festival of the Holy Sacrament*. In 1264, a woman of Liege, whose fanaticism obtained for her the honours of canonization, and the title of St. Juliana, pretended to have been favoured with a revelation from

heaven, acquainting her, that the *Festival of the Holy Sacrament* had always been in the councils of the sovereign Trinity, but that now the time was arrived for revealing it to mankind*. The decree of Urban IV. for the institution of this festival, states—"That this day properly appertains to the sacrament, because there is no saint who has not his proper festival; that this is intended to confound the unbelief and extravagance of heretics, and to repair all the crimes of which men might be guilty in the other masses†." The celebrated Thomas Aquinas composed the office for this solemnity.

The practice of elevating the host had arisen in the eastern church during the sixth century; but its progress towards the west was so tardy, that no custom of this nature is recorded before the eleventh century, and no adoration intended by it till the thirteenth, when it was expressly appointed in the constitutions of Honorius III. and Gregory IX. It was introduced to represent the elevation of Christ upon the cross, and was performed immediately before the communion.

* This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints, in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was inwardly informed by the Spirit, that the moon signified the church, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the Holy Sacrament.

† Larroche, p. 581.

The

The ceremony of carrying the host in procession, to communicate with the sick, appears to have arisen in England at the end of the twelfth century. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of pope Celestine, held a synod at York, in which he commanded, that, when any sick persons were to receive the communion, the priest should himself carry the host, clothed with his proper garment, and with lights borne before him, suitable to so great a solemnity*. In the thirteenth century, Odo, bishop of Paris, made several regulations to the same effect. The use of the thin wafer† had its rise nearly about the same period; and its origin appears to have been a desire of preventing as much as possible the chance of any part of the sacred elements being wasted or applied to an improper use, as they were held to be the *real body* and blood of Christ. With this view it was deemed sufficient if the LAITY communicated with bread only, for it was agreed that the consecrated bread was the whole body of Christ, and consequently that it contained the *blood*; and

* Dr. Jortin ascribes the origin of this ceremony to the above-mentioned legate at Cologne, who ordered, that, when the sacrament was carried to the sick, the scholar and ringer should go before the priest, and order the people to worship Jesus Christ in the streets and houses. Jort. v. 351.

† Before the use of the wafer, it appears that the priests frequently dipped the bread in the wine in administering the sacrament to the sick, but against this custom several decrees were enacted.

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that therefore the wine, which was the blood only, must be superfluous*. This practice however did not become general at once; and in many places the laity, to prevent the shedding of the wine, sucked it through quills, which were annexed to the chalices for that purpose. Communion in one kind only was afterwards established by the council of Constance †.

About the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII. added to the public rites of the church, the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at Rome, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence. In 1299, a rumour was spread among the inhabitants of that city, that all such as visited, within the limits of the following year, the church of St. Peter should obtain the remission of all their sins, and that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the same service, once every hundred years. This opinion, so well calculated to gratify the avarice of the pontiff, was not disregarded by him. Boniface affected to investigate the business: he commanded strict inquiry to be made concerning the author, and the foundation of the report; and the willing pope was soon so successful, that he was assured, by many testimonies worthy of credit‡, that, from the remotest

* See this admirably exposed in Swift's Tale of a Tub.

† Priestley's Hist. of Corruptions, vol. ii. p. 54.

‡ These *testimonies worthy of credit* have never been produced by the Romish writers, unless we rank in that class, that of an

most antiquity, this important privilege of remission and indulgence was to be obtained by these services. No sooner had the pontiff received this information, than he issued an epistolary mandate, addressed to all Christians, in which he enacted it as a solemn law of the church, that those who, every hundredth or jubilee year, confessed their sins, and visited, with sentiments of contrition and repentance, the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, should obtain the entire remission of their various offences. The successors of Boniface were not satisfied with adding a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornaments, to this superstitious institution; but, finding by experience, that it added to the lustre, and augmented the revenues of the Roman Church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five-and-twentieth year*.

old man, who had completed his 107th year, and who, being brought before Boniface VIII. declared (if we may believe the Abbé Fleury) that his father, who was a common labourer, had assisted at the celebration of a jubilee, an hundred years before that time. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.*

* The various writers, who have treated of the institution of the Roman jubilee, are enumerated by Jo. Albert. Fabricius, in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 316.

C H A P. III.

CONCERNING THE SECTS WHICH EXISTED IN THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Catharists—Waldenses—Petrobrusians—Persecution of Heretics—Inquisition—Crusade against the Albigenses.

FROM the contemporary historians of this period, no accounts of new sects during this century have been transmitted to us. The Nestorians and Jacobites, who were settled in the remoter regions of the east, and equalled the Greeks in their aversion to the rites and jurisdiction of the Latin Church, were frequently solicited, by the ministry of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries sent among them by the popes, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year 1246, Innocent IV. used his utmost efforts to bring both these sects under his dominion ; and in the year 1278, terms of accommodation were proposed by Nicholas IV. to the Nestorians, and particularly to that branch of the sect which resided in the northern parts of Asia. The leading men, both among the Nestorians and Jacobites, appeared to pay some attention to the proposals which were made to them, and were by no means averse to a reconciliation with the Church of Rome ; but the prospect of
peace

peace soon vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong the rupture.

During the whole course of this century, the Roman pontiffs carried on a most violent persecution against those whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics*. The sects of the Catharists, Waldenses, and Petrobrusians, or Albigenses, however, daily increased, spread imperceptibly throughout all Europe, assembled numerous congregations in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, and formed by degrees so powerful a party, as rendered them formidable to the Roman pontiffs, and menaced the papal jurisdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions were added, which differed indeed in various instances, yet were all unanimous in one opinion: “ That the
 “ public and established religion was a motley
 “ system of errors and superstition; and that the
 “ dominion which the popes had usurped over
 “ Christians, and the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical.”
 Such were the notions propagated by the sectaries, who refuted the superstitions and impostures of the times by arguments deduced from scripture, and whose declamations against the power, the opulence, and the vices of the popes and clergy, were extremely agreeable to many princes and civil magistrates, who felt uneasy under the usurpations of the sacred order. The pontiffs therefore considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new
 and

and extraordinary methods of defeating enemies, who, both by their number and their rank, were every way calculated to alarm their fears.

The number of these dissenters from the Church of Rome was no where greater than in Narbonne Gaul*, and the countries adjacent, where they were received and protected, in a singular manner, by Raymond VI. earl of Toulouse, and other persons of the highest distinction; and where the bishops, either through humanity or indolence, were so negligent and remiss in the prosecution of heretics, that the latter, laying aside their fears, formed settlements, and multiplied incredibly. Innocent III. was soon informed of all these proceedings; and about the commencement of this century † sent legates extraordinary into the southern provinces of France to atone for the negligence of the bishops, and to extirpate heresy, in all its forms and modifications, without being at all scrupulous in using such methods as might be necessary to effect this salutary purpose. The persons charged with this commission were Rainier, a Cistercian monk, and Pierre de Castelnau, archdeacon of Maguelonne, who afterwards be-

* That part of France which antiently comprehended the provinces of Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc.

† As early as the year 1198, Innocent prohibited all communion with the Waldenses and Albigenes; confiscated their goods, disinherited their children, denied them the rites of burial, and gave their accusers one third of their effects. *Hist. des Papes.*

came a Cistercian friar. These eminent missionaries were followed by several others, among whom was the famous Spaniard Dominic, who, returning from Rome in the year 1206, met with these delegates, embarked in their cause, and laboured, both by his exhortations and actions, for the extirpation of heresy. These spiritual champions engaged in this expedition upon the sole authority of the pope, without either asking the advice or demanding the assistance of the bishops. They inflicted capital punishments upon such of the heretics as they could not convert by reason and argument, and were distinguished in common discourse by the title of *Inquisitors*, and from them the formidable and odious tribunal, called the *Inquisition*, derived its original*.

When these obedient soldiers of the holy see had executed their commission, and purged the pro-

* In a descriptive account of Rome, 1778, published under the auspices of the pope, we are told that the tribunal of the Inquisition, the name alone of which is so formidable to some nations of Europe, exercises its functions at Rome with the GREATEST GENTLENESS.—Is this to be ascribed to the lenity of the pope himself, or to the spirit of the times, or to both? The extenuation, however, announces an abuse, unless it can be proved that there is no punishment in tickling a man to death with a feather. What a happy accordance is there between the claims of inquisitors and the declarations of Christ! “If any man hear my words and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. He that rejecteth me and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: The word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him IN THE LAST DAY.” John xii. 47. H.

vinces to which they were sent, of the greatest part of the enemies of the Roman faith, the pontiffs were so sensible of their services, that they established missionaries of a similar description, or *Inquisitors*, in almost every city whose inhabitants had the misfortune to be suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance which the people demonstrated to this new institution, and the violence with which they frequently expelled, and sometimes massacred, these bloody officers of the popish hierarchy. The council held at Toulouse, in the year 1229, by Romanus, cardinal of St. Angelo, and legate of the pope, went still farther, and erected in every city a council of inquisitors, consisting of one priest and three laymen*. This institution was, however, superseded, in the year 1233, by Gregory IX. who entrusted the Dominicans, or preaching friars, with the important commission of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics who were lurking in France, and in a formal epistle discharged the bishops from the burthen of that painful office†. Immediately after this, the bishop of Tournay, who was the pope's legate in France, began to execute this new resolution, by appointing Pierre Cellan,

* See Harduini Concilia, tom. vii. p. 175.

† Bernard. Guidonis in *Chronico Pontif.* M3. ap. Jac. Echardum Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 88.—Percini *Historia Inquisit. Tolosanæ*, subjoined to his *Historia Conventus XX. Prædicat. Tolosæ* 1693, in 8vo.—*Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. 394, 395.

and

and Guillaume Arnaud, inquisitors of heretical pravity at Toulouse, and afterwards proceeded, in every city where the Dominicans had a convent, to constitute officers of the same nature, chosen from among the monks of that celebrated order*. From this period, so disastrous and so disgraceful to human nature, is dated the establishment of that most odious of tyrannies, the INQUISITION; an institution, whose foundations are laid in blood, and whose detested towers overlooked and overawed the whole Christian world. The Dominicans erected, first at Toulouse, and afterwards at Carcassonne and other places, a tremendous court, before which were summoned not only heretics, and persons suspected of heresy, but likewise all who were accused of magic, sorcery, judaism, witchcraft, and other similar offences. This tribunal was afterwards erected in the other countries of Europe, but, for the honour of human nature, not every where with equal success.

The method of proceeding in the inquisitorial court was at first simple, and almost in every respect similar to that which was observed in the ordinary courts of justice†. But this simplicity was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom experience suggested several new methods

* Echard and Percinus, loc. citat.

† The records, published by the Benedictines in their *Histoire Gener. de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 371, shew the simplicity that reigned in the proceedings of the inquisition at its first institution.

of augmenting the majesty of their spiritual tribunal, and such alterations were introduced in the forms of proceedings, that the manner of taking cognizance of heretical causes became totally different from that which was usual in civil affairs. These friars were, indeed, entirely ignorant of judicial arrangements; nor were they acquainted with the procedures of any other tribunal, than that which was called, in the Roman church, the tribunal of penance. It was therefore after this, that they modelled the new court of inquisition, as far as a resemblance between the two was possible; and hence arose that strange system of inquisitorial law, which, in many respects, is so contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plainest dictates of equity and justice.

That nothing might be wanted to render this spiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman pontiffs persuaded the European princes, particularly the emperor Frederic II. and Lewis IX. king of France, not only to enact the most rigorous laws against heretics, and to commit to the flames, by the ministry of public justice, those who were pronounced such by the inquisitors, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most open and solemn manner *. These laws were not, however, sufficient

* The law of the emperor Frederic, in relation to the inquisitors, may be seen in Limborch's History of the Inquisition, and

sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance, with a spirit of suspicion and perfidy, and even with temerity and imprudence. They were accordingly driven, in an ignominious manner, out of some cities, and were put to death in others. It will not excite much concern to the humane mind, that Conrad of Marpurg, the first German inquisitor, who derived his commission from Gregory IX. was one of the numerous victims that were sacrificed upon this occasion to the vengeance of the public*.

and in the Epistles of Pierre de Vignes, and Bzovius Raynaldus, &c. The edict of St. Lewis, in favour of these spiritual judges, is generally known under the title of *Cupientes*; and is so termed by the French lawyers on account of its beginning with that word. It was issued in the year 1229, as the Benedictine monks have sufficiently proved in their *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 378. 575. It is also published by Catellus, in his *Histor. Comit. Tolosanor.* p. 340, and in many other authors. This edict is as severe and inhuman, to the full, as the laws of Frederic II. For a great part of the sanctity of good King Lewis consisted in his furious and implacable aversion to heretics, against whom he judged it more expedient to employ the influence of racks and gibbets, than the power of reason and argument. See Du Fresne, *Vita Ludovici*, a Joinvillio scripta, p. 11. 39.

* The life of this furious and celebrated inquisitor has been composed from the most authentic records that are extant, and also from several valuable manuscripts, by the learned John Herman Schminkius. See also Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 151. 355; and Echard. *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 487.

When Innocent III. perceived that the labours of the first inquisition were not immediately attended with the effects he had fondly expected, he addressed himself, in the year 1207, to Philip Augustus king of France, and to the leading men of that nation, soliciting them, by the alluring promise of the most ample indulgences, to extirpate the heretics by fire and sword*. This exhortation was repeated, with new accessions of fervour and earnestness, the following year, when Pierre de Castelnau, the legate of this pontiff, and his inquisitor in France, was put to death by the patrons of the people called heretics†.

Not long after this, the Cistercian monks, in the name of this pope, proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout the whole kingdom of France, and a storm appeared to be collecting against them on every side. Raymond VI. earl of Toulouse, in whose territories Castelnau had been massacred, was solemnly excommunicated; and, to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical malediction, he forsook his party, and embarked in the crusade. In the year 1209, a formidable army of crusaders appeared against the heretics, who were comprehended under the general denomination of Albigenes, and commenced an open war, which they carried on with the utmost exertions of cruel-

* Innocentii III. Epistolæ, lib. x. epist. 49.

† Ibid. lib. xi. ep. 26, 27, 28, 29. Acta Sanctor. Mart. tom. i. p. 411.

ty, though with various success, for several years. The chief director of this ecclesiastical war was Arnold abbot of the Cisterians, and legate of the pope; and the commander in chief of the troops employed in the expedition was Simon earl of Montfort. Raymond, the victim of necessity, was again compelled to forsake his party, and to oppose himself to the heroes of this infamous crusade. Fear had occasioned the apostacy of the earl of Toulouse, and a similar motive produced his return to the friends he had deserted. The earl of Montfort had embarked in this war, not so much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of aversion to the heretics, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, which he hoped to improve by obtaining the territories of Raymond; and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the court of Rome. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits, conducted with the most intrepid courage and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of Innocent III. at the council of the Lateran, in 1215, the county of Toulouse and the other lands belonging to that earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the cause of God and of the Church. About three years after this, he lost his life at the siege of Toulouse. Raymond, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

Thus were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off the scene: but this removal was far from

extinguishing the flame of persecution on the side of the pontiffs, or calming the restless spirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics. Raymond VII. earl of Toulouse, and Amalric, earl of Montfort, succeeded their fathers at the head of the contending parties, and prosecuted the war with the utmost vehemence, and with such various success as rendered the issue for some time doubtful. Raymond commenced his career with advantages superior to those of his antagonist; and pope Honorius III. alarmed at the vigorous opposition he made to the orthodox legions, engaged Lewis VIII. king of France, by the most pompous promises, to march in person with a formidable army against the enemies of the church.—The obsequious monarch attended to the solicitations of the pontiff, and embarked with a considerable military force in the cause, but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal. His engagements, however, with the court of Rome, and his furious designs against the heretics, were executed with the greatest alacrity and vigour by his son and successor, commonly called St. Lewis. Raymond therefore, pressed on all sides, was obliged, in the year 1229, to make peace upon the most disadvantageous terms, even by making a cession of the greater part of his territories to the French monarch, after having sacrificed a portion of them, as a peace-offering, to the Church of Rome. This treaty of peace gave a mortal blow to the cause
of

of heresy, and dispersed the champions who had appeared in its defence; the inquisition was established at Toulouse, and the heretics were not only exposed to the pious cruelties of Lewis, but, what was still more shocking, Raymond himself, who had formerly been their patron, became their persecutor, and treated them, upon all occasions, with the most inhuman severity. It is true, this prince broke the engagements into which he had entered by the treaty, and renewed the war against Lewis and the inquisitors, who abused their victory, and the power they had acquired, in the most odious manner. But this new effort in favour of the heretics was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate earl of Toulouse, the last representative of that noble and powerful house, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died, in the year 1249, without male issue. Thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cause, partly the pretext, and which, in its consequences, was highly profitable both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs.

It is impossible to contemplate the vast effusion of human blood on this occasion, without emotions of horror; for, in the course of these wars, not less than a million of men are supposed to have been sacrificed; in which number are included 300,000

of the crusaders themselves*: and what aggravates the horror to the utmost extreme, is, that the name of Christ should have been prophaned, to sanction the havoc.

It is not easy to determine, under which of our chapters we should class a singular species of enthusiasm which appeared in the course of this century. Ecclesiastical historians have spoken of the *Flagellantes* (or Whippers) under the name of a sect, though, as they differed in no article of faith or ecclesiastical government from the established church, they appear to have little claim to that denomination. As, however, it is fact, and not arrangement, that we are in quest of at present, I shall adopt, without further apology, the example of Du Pin, and class this description of fanatics with the sects of the 13th century.

It has been a prevailing tenet in every false religion, that the misery of his creatures was acceptable and grateful to the Divinity; and that the sufferings of another life can only be averted by the voluntary devotion of ourselves to wretchedness in this. Christianity itself has occasionally been contaminated with similar errors, and the duty of repentance has been considered as including not only mental contrition, but bodily suffering. The primitive church imposed ecclesiastical censures and penances, as temporal punishments on of-

* Hist. des Papes, vol. iii. p. 16.

fenders;

fenders; and in times of ignorance this penance was considered in a more extensive view, and as relating rather to our future than our earthly state. In the year 1260, at Penesini, in Italy, a kind of penitential procession was celebrated, in which the self-convicted criminals marched solemnly through the city, flagellating themselves with the utmost severity, and imploring, with the most distressful clamour, the mercy of God. The procession was preceded by priests, who carried a crucifix, and it consisted of men of every rank and order; the females inflicted a similar discipline upon themselves at home *. The enthusiasm, however, was soon not confined to one class of devotees—men, women, and children, of every rank, adopted the practice; all business, public and private, was suspended; the public amusements deserted; and in the most inclement weather, and in the darkest nights, the streets were crowded with wretches, torturing themselves, and imploring the divine forgiveness. The contagion was in a short time no longer confined to a single place, but spread from city to city †, and even extended over all Italy, and a considerable part of Germany. As the passion increased, they formed a regular society, and instituted rules for the admission of associates.—The sect continued till the succeeding century, when, among other absurdities, one of the flagel-

* Du Pin, cent. 13. c. 9.

† Hist. Flag. per Christ. Schol. Boileau Histoire des Flagellans, c. xx. Murat. t. vi. Monach. Patav. an. 1260.

lants pretended that he had been presented, by an angel, with a whip, and a letter from heaven, which assured those who would endure this discipline for thirty-four days successively, a complete pardon for all their sins. The extravagancies and excesses of the fraternity accelerated its suppression. Several of the princes and prelates of the empire exerted themselves to reduce the populace to reason ; and at length Clement VI. formally condemned the fanaticism of the Flagellants, as an impious and pernicious heresy*.

* Du Pin.

C H A P. IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Destruction of Classical Authors—Calamities of Greece prevent the Cultivation of Letters in the East—Scholastic Divinity prevalent in the West—Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, &c.—Roger Bacon, Matthew Paris, &c.

THE difficulty of recalling the attention of mankind to the cultivation of true science and literature, may in some measure be estimated from the well-known fact, that in these ages it was a common practice to erase the writing of the most valuable parchment manuscripts, and to inscribe ecclesiastical treatises upon them. Polybius, Dio, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, and many which are entirely lost, were metamorphosed into missals and homilies*. The few remains of classical literature, which were left by the more barbarous ages, were destroyed by the unlettered bigotry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in which it appears that the graphical knowledge of the monks was no less detrimental to the republic of letters, than the total ignorance of their ancestors.

* Montfaucon, Mem. de l'Acad. ix. 325.

Few of the Greek writers of this age have descended to posterity. The calamities of their nation engrossed too much of their attention, to allow them to cultivate literature with much success. Their principal productions were controversial, on points in dispute with the Latin Church; or histories and annals relating to the state of the empire.

The scholastic divinity, and the philosophy and logic of Aristotle, pervaded all the schools of the west. Among those who may be placed at the head of these sciences, were Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura. These were all of them men of genius and penetration, and possessed uncommon dexterity in discussing subtile and difficult points; they had a strong love of wisdom, but that quality was depraved by their attachment to logical refinements, and their genius and ability were all made subservient to the Church of Rome, to her persecuting spirit and unbounded ambition. The first of these doctors was a German, of the Dominican order; his works are very voluminous. Thomas Aquinas was, by way of eminence, called the angelical, and Bonaventura the seraphic doctor. Aquinas was descended from the ancient kings of Sicily; he had a considerable portion of enthusiasm in his character, as, notwithstanding his attachment to the Church of Rome, he is said to have refused the archbishopric of Naples. Bonaventura was however more a man of the world,
and

and accepted a cardinal's hat as the reward of his labours in the service of the church. Robert of Sorbonne founded at Paris, in this century, the celebrated university which has since been distinguished by his name. Alexander Hales, and William Perrault, were among the scholastic divines of this century*.

The whole of the learning of this age was not however confined to these studies, but there existed in Europe men who applied themselves to true philosophy. The well-earned reputation of our countryman, Roger Bacon, is notorious to most readers. He may be termed the father of experimental philosophy, and even in the present advanced state of physical science his works contain matter not undeserving attention. Arnoldus Villanovanus, a Frenchman, and Petrus de Abano, an Italian, were also celebrated for their knowledge in physic, chemistry, and poetry. "But
" the rewards which these excellent persons received for their abilities and useful industry,
" were, to be called magicians and heretics by an
" ignorant world, and with great difficulty to
" escape fire and faggot. Bacon languished many
" years in a jail; and the bodies of the other two,
" after their decease, were condemned to the flames
" of the inquisitors†."

This

* Du Pin.

† Jortin, v. 382. It is not customary at present to *burn* men for their learning: their punishment is now only to be *starved*.
A clergyman

This century had the honour also of producing that valuable historian Matthew Paris, whose only blemish is admitting, what he could scarcely have rejected in this age of superstition, some improbable tales of visions, miracles, and apparitions*. Several authors wrote particular chronicles of their own churches and monasteries; others detailed the history of the crusades; and several accounts of travels into Palestine about this time appeared†. The Jews, though persecuted and oppressed, were not destitute of good writers during this century, amongst whom were R. Meir, R. Ascher, R. Bechai, R. Levi Ben Gershen, and R. Schem Tof.

A clergyman of irreproachable character was lately a candidate for a place in the popular gift, for which he was allowed to be qualified; but it was seriously urged against him, that he was a *man of erudition*. Happily for his antagonist, no such objection could be laid to his charge, and he was moreover supported by the most profligate nobleman in Europe, though the object was the care of a female seminary.—The event was as might be expected.

* Jortin, v. 366.

† Du Pin.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS
CENTURY.

Renewal of the Holy War—Conversion of Lithuania—Successes against the Infidels in Spain—Efforts for the Conversion of China—Decline of the Papal Power—Contest between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, King of France—Benedict IX.—Clement V.—Gregory XI.—Urban VI.—Great Western Schism.

THE unfortunate zeal for crusades was once more attempted to be revived by the rulers of the church, though they had been so lately disgraced by the prostitution of the term in the case of the Albigenses. The succession of pontiffs who resided at Avignon were particularly zealous for the renovation of the holy war, and left no artifice, no methods of persuasion, unemployed, which could have the least tendency to engage the kings of England and France in an expedition to Judea. Their success however was not answerable to their zeal ; and notwithstanding the powerful influence of

192 *Zeal for a Renewal of the Crusades.* [CENT. 14.
of their exhortations and remonstrances, something continually occurred to prevent their effect. In the years 1307 and 1308, Clement V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardour, and set apart an immense sum of money for prosecuting it with alacrity and vigour*. John XXII. ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319, to transport an army of pious adventurers into Palestine, and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of indulgences, for raising the funds necessary to the support of this enterprise. These indulgences he liberally offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on of the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all the countries in Europe which were subject to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Under the pontificate of Benedict XII. a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by Philip de Valois, king of France, with the professed view of attempting the deliverance of the Christians in Palestine; but when he was just ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from England obliged him to lay aside this important enterprise. In the year 1345, Clement V. at the request of the Venetians, engaged, by the persuasive power of indulgences, a prodigious number of

* Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 15. 594; tom. ii. p. 55. 57. 374. 391, &c. Ant. Matthæi Analecta Veteris Ævi, tom. ii. 577.

adventurers

adventurers to embark for Smyrna, where they composed a numerous army under the command of Guido or Guy, dauphin of Vienne; but the want of provision obliged this army to return with their general into Europe in a short time after their departure*. This disappointment did not, however, repress the ardour of the restless pontiffs; for another formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Urban V. which was to be employed in a new expedition against the infidels, with John, king of France, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes which many had entertained from this grand project, and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body which had repaired to his standard†.

Had the truths of Christianity, instead of the empty name, formed the governing principle of those by whom it was professed, the historian might record with peculiar delight the names of those nations, which were by any means induced to profess a belief in the gospel of Christ. As it is, he must regard these nominal conversions with concern, which is however softened by the consideration that the minds of men open slowly to truths which revolt against deeply-rooted prejudices, and

* *Fragmenta Histor. Roman. in Muratorii Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 368.

† *Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 366. 386. 372. 401.*

that outward professions were the first dawn of that light which afterwards diffused real religion into the minds of men. Probably, too, the success of the Christian missionaries of these periods would have been less, had the doctrines of the church been more conformable to primitive Christianity. Those, whose perverted minds would have found great difficulty in adopting the idea of a purely spiritual Being, as the only object of adoration, were easily induced to transfer their worship from the idols of their ancestors to the statues of the saints.

The conversion of the northern nations had been conducted with so much success, that in the 14th century few European princes were unconverted to Christianity. Jagello, duke of Lithuania, however, continued in the darkness of paganism, and worshipped the gods of his idolatrous ancestors, till the year 1386, when he embraced the Christian faith, received in baptism the name of Vladislaus, and persuaded his subjects to open their eyes upon the truths of the gospel. As it is an unsafe undertaking to scrutinize the motives of men, it may suffice to say that this prince was not without some temporal allurements to renounce the religion of his ancestors. Upon the death of Lewis, king of Poland, which happened in the year 1382, Jagello was named among the competitors who aspired to the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the

Polesbeheld his pretensions and efforts with a favourable eye. His religion was the only obstacle to the accomplishment of his views. Hedwige, the youngest daughter of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the senate, was declared heiress of the kingdom, was as little disposed to espouse, as the Poles were to obey, a Pagan, and hence Jagello was obliged to make superstition yield to royalty *. On the other hand, the Teutonic knights and crusaders extirpated by fire and sword any remains of paganism which were yet to be found in Prussia and Livonia, and effected, by force, what persuasion alone ought to have produced.

The Saracens still retained a considerable territory in Spain. The kingdoms of Granada and Murcia, with the province of Andalusia, were subject to their dominion; and they waged perpetual war with the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, in which, however, they were not always victorious. The African princes, and particularly the emperors of Morocco, became their auxiliaries against the Christians. This arrangement was extremely offensive to the pontiffs of Rome, who employed the most diligent efforts in exciting the Christians to unite their forces against the Mahometans, and to expel them from the Spanish

* Odor Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccles.* ad A. 1386. f. iv. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 71. Solignac, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. ii. p. 241.

territories; presents, exhortations, promises, and every allurement that religion, superstition, or avarice could render powerful, were employed for the promotion of this arduous project. The Christians accordingly united their counsels and efforts with the same view; and though for some time the difficulty of the enterprise rendered their progress but inconsiderable, yet even in this century their affairs wore a promising aspect, and gave them reason to hope that at some future time they should triumph over their enemies, and become the sole possessors of the Spanish dominions.

Some faint efforts were made to propagate the religion of Christ in the empire of China, and among the Tartars; and in 1308, an archbishop of Pekin was appointed by Clement V. with other suffragan bishops under his jurisdiction. Their efforts were at first attended with some success*, but the illiterate state of the Chinese nation, owing apparently to the want of alphabetical writing, must always form a considerable impediment to the reception of truth and wisdom.

The dominion of the Romish church appeared at this time to be rapidly on the decline. This important change may be dated from the contention which arose between Boniface VIII. who filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and Philip the Fair, king of France.—

* Formey's *Eccles. Hist.* i. p. 234.

This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced Europe, that it was possible to set bounds to the arrogance of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding many crowned heads had attempted it in vain. In the haughty letters of Boniface, he asserted that the king of France, with all other kings and princes, was obliged, by a divine command, to submit to the authority of the popes, as well in all political and civil matters as in those of a religious nature. The king answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost contempt*. The pope rejoined with additional arrogance; and in the celebrated bull, *Unam Sanctam*, which he published about this time, asserted that Jesus Christ had granted a two-fold power to his church, or, in other words, the spiritual and temporal sword; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff; and that whoever dared to disbelieve it, was to be deemed a heretic, and stood excluded from all possibility of salvation†. The king, on the other hand, in an assembly of the peers of his kingdom,

* In one of his letters, Boniface addresses Philip, "We give you to know that you are our subject both in spirituals and temporals." Philip replied: "We give your *foolship* to know (*sciat fatuitas vestra*) that, in temporals, we are subject to no person." Bibl. Choif. viii. 401. xxv. 380.

† This bull is yet extant in the Corpus Juris Canon. Extra-vagant, Commun. lib. i. tit. *De Majoritate et Obedientia*.

198 *The Pope made Prisoner by Nogaret.* [CENT. 14.
held in the year 1303, ordered William de Nogaret, a celebrated lawyer*, to draw up an accusation against the pope, in which he publicly charged him with heresies, simony, and many other vices, demanding at the same time an œcumenical council to depose one who had so much disgraced his order. The pope, in his turn, passed a sentence of excommunication, that very year, against the king and all his adherents.

Philip, shortly after the arrival of his sentence, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed persons of the highest rank and reputation to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to the decisions of a general council. After this he sent William de Nogaret, with some others, into Italy, to excite a sedition, to seize the pope's person, and to convey him to Lyons, where the king was determined the general council should be held. Nogaret was resolute and active, and soon obtained the assistance of the powerful family of the Colonnas, then at variance with the pope; he levied a small army, seized Boniface, who resided in perfect security at Anagni, and, as soon as he had him in his power, treated him in the most indignant manner, carrying his resentment so far as

* Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before Luther, none has given us a fuller account than the Benedictine monks. Hist. Generale de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 114. 117. Philip made him chancellor of France for his resolute opposition to the pope.

to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of Anagni rescued their pope from the hands of this fierce and inveterate enemy, and conducted him to Rome, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had precipitated him*.

Benedict XI. his successor, had the good sense to profit by this fatal example. He voluntarily repealed the sentence of excommunication, which his predecessor had issued against the king of France and his dominions; but never could be prevailed upon to absolve Nogaret of his treason against the majesty of the pontificate. The intrepid Nogaret was, however, very little solicitous to obtain the papal absolution, and prosecuted, with his usual vigour and intrepidity, in the Roman court, the accusation which he had formerly brought against Boniface; and, in the name of his royal master, insisted that the memory of that pontiff should be publicly branded with infamy. During these transactions Benedict died, 1304; upon which, Philip, by his intrigues in the conclave, obtained the see of Rome for a French prelate, Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was accordingly elected on the fifth of June, 1305. This step was more necessary, as the breach between the

* It has been said of him and his pontificate, "that he entered upon it like a fox, governed like a lion, and died like a dog." Formey, *Eccles. Hist.* i. p. 238,

king and the court of Rome was not yet entirely healed, and, as Nogaret was not yet absolved, Bertrand assumed the name of Clement V. and, at the king's request, remained in France, and removed the papal residence to Avignon, where it continued during the space of seventy years, a period, which the Italians call, by way of derision, the Babylonish captivity*.

Possessed of such an advantage as the presence of a pontiff devoted to his interests, Philip unceasingly pressed for the condemnation of Boniface, and Nogaret preferred several articles of accusation against him, which he substantiated by respectable testimony. To condemn the decisions of an *infallible* head of the church, was a difficulty of no small magnitude to one of his successors, and Clement studiously endeavoured to delay the proceedings. The king was, however, earnest, and at length obtained a bull from the pontiff, by which all the obnoxious decrees of Boniface, against the monarch or the kingdom of France, were condemned and revoked.

In the internal tumults of Italy between the Guelph and Gibeline factions, and the contentions of the candidates for the empire, the pontiffs of Rome had a very considerable share. Lewis, duke of Bavaria, and Frederic, duke of Austria,

* For an account of the French popes, consult Steph. Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionensium*, published at Paris, two vols. 4to. in 1693.

received the imperial diadem from bishops attached to their different interests. Lewis applied to John XXII. the successor of Clement, to confirm his election; but he had dared to take possession of the ornaments annexed to the imperial dignity, without the previous permission of the pope; an offence not to be forgiven. John accordingly refused the ratification of his dignity, excommunicated him and all his adherents, and accused him of favouring heretics and schismatics in defiance of the church. The irritated emperor retorted the accusation, charged the pope with being the instigator of the disturbances in Germany and Italy, an invader of the rights of princes, and an heresiarch. In vain did John reiterate the sentence of excommunication: Lewis entered Italy, attached a considerable part of that country to his interest, and was crowned at Rome by cardinal Colonna, at the request of the clergy and people. Their next step was the election of another pope, and Nicholas V. was raised to the pontifical chair. He was however soon afterwards seized and carried to Avignon, where he abdicated his dignity, and died in confinement.

Benedict XII. and Clement VI. the immediate successors of John, confirmed his excommunication of the emperor Lewis, and a considerable part of the empire were induced by these means to withdraw their allegiance, and to elect Charles IV. the son of Lewis, who was soon after, by the death of his

his father, confirmed in the peaceable possession of the empire.

After a succession of three pontiffs, whose history presents us with little of importance to the general interest of the church*; in the year 1376, Gregory XI. pretending that he was incited to the measure by the warnings of St. Catharine of Sienna, transferred the papal seat from Avignon to Rome†. This pontiff died in the year 1378, and the cardinals assembled to consult concerning the choice of a successor, when the people of Rome, fearing lest the vacant dignity should be conferred upon a Frenchman, appeared in a tumultuous manner before the conclave, and with irresistible clamours, accompanied with the most outrageous threats, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, immediately proclaimed Bartholomew de Pregnano, a Neapolitan, and archbishop of Bari, who assumed the name of Urban VI. This was, however, only intended as a temporary expedient to appease the clamours of the populace; but Urban asserted the validity of his election, and stimulated the people to support his cause. He was unfortunately desti-

* Benedict XII. deserves notice for the excellence of his character, and his honest endeavours, during his short pontificate, to reform the church.

† The French popes derived little or no emolument from their Italian dominions, which reduced their finances so as to compel them to the traffic of indulgences, and occasioned Gregory to make this removal. Mosh,

tute of every disposition for conciliating the affections of his opponents, or even for retaining his particular adherents, and by his injudicious severity and intolerable arrogance, soon made himself enemies among people of all ranks, and especially among the leading cardinals. No longer able to endure his insolence, they withdrew from Rome to Anagni, and thence to Fondi, a city of the kingdom of Naples, where they elected to the pontificate Robert count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. and declared at the same time that the election of Urban was a mere ceremony, which they had been compelled to perform, in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful pope, is to this day matter of doubt; nor will the records and writings, alleged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with any certainty. Urban remained at Rome: Clement retired to Avignon in France. His cause was espoused by France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus, while all the rest of Europe acknowledged Urban as the true vicar of Christ.

Thus the union of the Latin church under one head was destroyed at the death of Gregory XI. and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the *great Western Schism*. Upon the death of Urban, in 1389, the Italian cardinals proceeded to the election of Boniface

face IX. a Neapolitan; and Clement VII. dying in 1394, the French cardinals raised to the papal throne a Spaniard, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. After various other methods having been unsuccessfully recommended for remedying this unfortunate schism, it was proposed that one or both of them should abdicate the pontificate. But power is too pleasing an acquisition, to be easily renounced, and the obstinacy of the ecclesiastical rivals continued to disturb the tranquillity of the church, notwithstanding every effort to effect a peaceable termination of the dispute.

CHAP. II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, CEREMONIES, &c. IN THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

*Alteration respecting the Jubilee—Extraordinary Festivals
—Origin of Annates—Fall of the Templars—Strange
Fiction concerning certain Relics.*

THE doctrines of the church during this century received little or no alteration in fact, through Pope John XXII. was accused of an attempt to introduce several novel opinions. The principal of these was his opposition to the doctrines of the Franciscans, who pretended that the perfection of Gospel poverty consisted in a perfect renunciation of all property even in the commodities which were used for subsistence. The pontiff declared in contradiction to this, that such a renunciation was ridiculous and impossible, and that it was heretical to assert, that Jesus Christ and the apostles had no authority and power over the commodities which they used. The incensed Franciscans in this exigency attached themselves to the party of the emperor Lewis; but the pope continued unconvinced by their arguments, and unmoved by the charge of heresy which was repeatedly urged against him. At a period of such public commotion and calamity as were exhibited during

during the greater part of this century in the affairs of the church, it may excite a smile to be informed that an absurd dispute arose among the Franciscans, which required all the address of several succeeding pontiffs to regulate. A number of these holy mendicants, who distinguished themselves by wearing coarse strait hoods and short gowns, and by the appellation of *spiritual brethren*, regarded with abhorrence the depravity of such of their fraternity as appeared in loose flowing garments composed of finer materials, and separated themselves from their society. John XXII. opposed this austerity, and favoured the opinions of the less rigid Franciscans, who assumed the title of *brethren of the convention*. The austere fanatics refused, however, to submit to his decisions, and cheerfully preferred chains, imprisonment, and even being burned to death, to an alteration in the forms of their garments.

A contest of more importance to the future faith of the church, arose during the pontificate of John. This respected the *Beatific Vision*, which the pope asserted was not enjoyed by the righteous, after death, till the day of judgment. This opinion was warmly controverted by the university of Paris, who contended that the souls of the saints were, at their death, immediately admitted into the presence of the Deity. During the agitation of this question, John was entered into that state where alone it could be resolved, and the decision
of

of the divines of Paris was declared to be the true catholic faith.

It is necessary at the present period to confine the reader to a general and superficial view of the alterations which were introduced into the ritual of the church, since they appear to be of little importance in the history of Christianity, and are too minute to admit of detail. In the year 1350, Clement VI. in compliance with the request of the people of Rome, enacted, that the Jubilee, which Boniface VIII. had ordered to be held every hundredth year, should be celebrated twice in every century. But Urban VI. and Sixtus VI. appointed, as was already intimated, a more frequent celebration of this salutary and profitable institution.

Innocent V. instituted festivals sacred to the memory of the lance with which our Saviour's side was pierced, the nails that fastened him to the cross, and the crown of thorns which he wore at his death*. This precious relic had been deposited in the imperial chapel at Constantinople, but, in the convulsions of that city, had passed into the hands of the Venetians, and from them it was transferred to the king of France. The French court advanced to Troyes in Champagne, to meet with devotion this inestimable treasure: it was borne in

* See Jo. Henr. A Seelen, *Diff. de Festo Lanceæ et Clavorum Christi.*—Baluzii Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 328. Miscellan. tom. i. p. 417.

triumph

triumph by the king, barefoot and in his shirt; and a gift of ten thousand marks of silver was awarded to the Byzantine emperor. A sum so considerable was a strong incentive to the necessitous Baldwin to dispose of his remaining treasures; and a large portion of the true cross, the baby-linen of the son of God, the lance, the sponge, and the chain of his passion, the rod of Moses, and the skull of St. John the Baptist, were eagerly received by St. Lewis, who bestowed a very considerable sum in erecting the holy chapel at Paris, as a repository for these spiritual curiosities. The number of festivals was increased by Benedict XII. who appointed one in honour of the marks of Christ's wounds, which, the Franciscans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their chief and founder, by a miraculous interposition of the divine power.

In the year 1306, Clement V. appropriated to himself the revenues of the ecclesiastical benefices, great or small, that should become vacant, for two years ensuing, in England; and this was the origin of the annates, or first fruits, which are still collected*.

In the following year, Philip the Fair began the persecution of the Knights Templars, who were accused of having violated every law of God and man; and in about four years after, this unfortunate fraternity was entirely annihilated. That their conduct was in many respects censurable, can

* Fleury, xix. 109.

scarcely

scarcely admit of a doubt; but there is as little doubt, that their vices were greatly magnified by their avaricious and malevolent enemies*.

In

* "The order of Knights Templars, if we may give credit to their judges, was a society of men, who were insulters and deriders of God, of Christ, and of all laws divine and human. They who were admitted into this sodality were obliged to renounce Christ, and spit upon his image, to pay religious adoration to a wooden head covered with gold, or to a cat, and to practise sodomy. If they had any children from their commerce with women, they immediately burnt them, and did other things shocking to be mentioned. That there were in this family, as in other religious orders and sects, some flagitious and impious men, no one will deny: but that the whole body was so execrable, is so far from being evident from the judicial processes against them, which are still extant, that the contrary is rather fairly to be collected. If to this we add, that the accusations brought against them manifestly contradict each other, and that many of these unhappy men constantly persevered in protesting their innocence under the most cruel tortures, and with their last breath, it will seem highly probable, that Philip excited this bloody tragedy, to satisfy his avarice, and to gratify his malice against their Master, by whom he pretended to have been ill used." *Mosh. cent. xiv. p. 604.*

It is remarked by the celebrated Lessing in his *Kollekt. zur Literatur*, that no modern writer hath better evinced the licentiousness and immorality of this order, than Thomafius in his *Diss. de Templariorum Equitum Ordine sublato*. Hal. 1705. Wichmanshausen, in his *Diss. de Extinctione Ord. Templ.* 1687, hath treated this subject with much less penetration and spirit; but there are in his book some things that merit attention, especially the conclusion, in which he compares the Templars with the Jesuits: *An vero paria etiam Jesuitas fata cum Templariis mansura sint, tempus manifestabit. Certe Nemesis divina tandem,*

In a book of sermons composed by the theological faculty at Vienna, in this age of superstition, in order to recommend their relics to the people, it is asserted, that the thirty pieces of *gold*, which Judas received for betraying his master, were coined by Terah, Abraham's father, a celebrated artificer under king Nimrod, who gave them to Abraham, by whom the field of Ephron the Hittite was purchased with this money. Thence they passed into the hands of the Ishmaelites, who paid them to the brethren of Joseph when they bought him. When Joseph's brethren went to buy corn in Egypt, they paid this money to Joseph, by which means it came into Pharaoh's treasury; hence the pieces were given to Moses when sent by the king of Egypt with an army to subdue Ethiopia. Moses upon this occasion gave them as a dowry to a queen of Sheba, whose descendant presented them to Solomon, by whom they were placed in the royal treasury; and continued there till Nebuchadnezzar seized them among the spoils of Jerusalem, and presented them to one of his auxiliaries, an Arabian king, from whom sprung one of those eastern kings who came to worship Christ at his birth, and who presented them to Mary. By her they were made an offering at the

dem, quos præterisse videtur, inveniet. Erchenburg, however, refers to Nicolai's Versuch über die Beschuldigungen, welche dem Tempelherrenorden gemacht worden, &c. published at Berlin, 1782, for a statement of the charges of Thomafius, and also for a full refutation of them. H.

purification,

purification, when she presented her son ; and were again employed in purchasing Christ. They now remain dispersed in different parts of the world, one of which, in *gold*, as large as an English noble, is shewn in the entrance of St. Peter's at Rome*.

The disturbances occasioned by the monks, and the decrees for their regulation, prevented in some degree their increase during this century. Some orders were, however, instituted, the principal of which owed their origin to St. Catharine of Sienna and St. Bridget.

* Bingham, Ecc. Ant. b. xiv. c. 4.

CHAP. III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

*Quietists—Dancers—Albi-Fratres—Beggards—Lollards—
Absurdities of the mendicant Orders.*

THE love of innovation, which had lain dormant for many centuries, began to be excited in this in different parts of the world. A sect of fanatics appeared in Greece under the name of Quietists; their principal tenet was, that in the deepest retirements there still existed a celestial light in the mind: and, agreeably to this notion, they were accustomed to sit for some hours of the day in a corner, with their eyes immoveably fixed, when they professed to feel this divine light beaming forth from the soul, and imparting the most vivid sensations of pleasure*.

The Dancers, which arose in the neighbourhood of Aix la-Chapelle about the year 1373, were not less ridiculous. Their tenets are explained by their name. Bodily exercise constituted the whole of their religion. As if by a sudden impulse, a whole company of them would frequently commence a violent motion, like a company of dancers, and

* Mosheim.

continue till they dropped down with fatigue, when they asserted that they were favoured with miraculous visions*. Another sect appeared towards the close of this century, called the Albi-Fratres, whose only characteristic was appearing constantly in white†.

The brethren and sisters of the Free Spirit, called also in the Flemish, Beggards and Beguines, were more numerous than any of the preceding. Their leading tenet appears to have been, that the rational soul has an immediate connection with God, the soul or spirit of the universe; that this communion is improvable by contemplation, which they are said to have indulged to such excess, as to reject all external devotion, and even the duties and employments of active life. It is probable their opinions are much misrepresented by their adversaries. They sustained heavy oppressions from the magistrates, the clergy, and the people; and melted away by degrees, till their small remains, if any did remain, were consolidated into the great mass of Protestants at the Reformation.

The more formidable as well as more rational sects directed their views principally to a reformation of the church. In 1308, a number of persons in Lombardy assumed the title of Apostolical, and contended warmly for the reducing of the church to the original purity of the apostolic times: they

* Mosheim.

† L'Enfant, Conc. de Pise, i. p. 1. 121.

were however presently dissipated by an army raised expressly for that purpose*. The pride and usurpations of the mendicant orders afforded the most general causes of complaint; and among all the enemies of these orders, none is more conspicuous than John Wickliff, an English doctor, professor of divinity at Oxford, and afterwards rector of Lutterworth; who, according to the testimony of the writers of these times, was a man of enterprising genius, and extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated by the example of Richard, archbishop of Armagh, he first defended the statutes and privileges of the university of Oxford, against all the orders of the mendicants, and had the courage to throw out some slight reproofs against the popes, their principal patrons. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenhip of Canterbury-hall in the university of Oxford, by Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place; upon which he appealed to Urban V. but that pontiff confirmed the sentence of the archbishop against him, on account of the freedom with which he had inveighed against the monastic orders. Highly exasperated at this treatment, he threw off all restraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their scandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itself, and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. He even proceeded

* Jortin.

to still greater lengths, and, detesting the wretched superstition of the times, refuted with great acuteness and spirit the absurd notions which were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the Scriptures, but also translated into English the sacred books, in order to render the perusal of them more universal.

These services, so important to the cause of rational piety, were received with very considerable approbation by persons of every rank ; for all abhorred the vices of the clergy, the tyranny of the court of Rome, and the insatiable avarice of the monks. But his attack of the doctrine of Transubstantiation occasioned the defection of numbers, who had entered with avidity into every other object of his designs, and firmly attached themselves to his interests.

The monks, whom Wickliff had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of Gregory XI. and, in the year 1377, that pontiff ordered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to take cognisance of the affair, in a council held at London. Imminent as the danger evidently was, Wickliff escaped it by the interest of the duke of Lancaster : and soon after the death of Gregory XI. the fatal schism of the Romish Church commenced, during which there was one pope at Rome, and another at Avignon, so that of necessity the controversy lay dormant for a considerable time. No

sooner, however, was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was revived by William de Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence, in two councils held at London and Oxford. The event was, that, of the twenty-three opinions for which Wickliff had been prosecuted by the monks, ten were condemned as heresies, and thirteen as errors. He himself, however, returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died peaceably in the year 1387. He left many followers in England*, and other countries, who were styled Wickliffites and Lollards, the latter of which was a term of popular reproach, transferred from the Flemish tongue into the English. Wherever they could be found, they were persecuted by the inquisitors, and other ministers of the Romish Church; and, in the council of Constance, in the year 1415, the memory and opinions of Wickliff were condemned by a solemn decree: and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

Notwithstanding the mendicants were thus vigorously attacked on all sides, by such a considerable number of ingenious and learned adversaries, they could not be persuaded to abate of their arrogance, or to set bounds to their superstition. The

* In this number was the poet Chaucer, whose *Canterbury Tales* could not fail to produce a considerable effect, by the exposures they exhibit of clerical vice.

Franciscans, forgetting, in their enthusiastic frenzy, the veneration which they owed to the Son of God, and animated with an imprudent zeal for advancing the glory of their order and its founder, impiously maintained that the latter was a second Christ, in all respects similar to the first; and that their institution and discipline was the true gospel of Jesus. These pretensions, however shocking, were patronized and encouraged by the letters and mandates of the popes, in which they made no scruple to assert, that the absurd fable of the stigmas, or five wounds impressed upon Francis by Christ himself, on mount Alvernus, was worthy of credit, and indeed matter of undoubted fact. Their permission and approbation of this order was so completely extended, that they unhesitatingly recommended an impious performance, entitled, *The Book of the Conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*, which was composed, in the year 1383, by Bartholomew Albizi, a Franciscan of Pisa, whose zeal in their cause was rewarded with the ample applauses of all the Franciscan fraternity. This infamous tract, in which the Son of God is put upon a level with a contemptible fanatic, is equally a monument of the outrageous enthusiasm of the Franciscan order, and of the excessive imprudence of the popes by whom it was recommended and extolled.

CHAP. IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Greek Literature—Emperors—Elder Andronicus—John Cantachuzene—Manuel Paleologus—Barlaam, &c.—Nicephorus Calistiis—Theophanes—Planudes, &c.—Scholastic Divinity—Duns Scotus—William Ockam, &c.—Nicholas de Lyra—Translation of the Bible into French.—St. Bridget and St. Catharine—Dante—Petrarch, &c.

NOTWITHSTANDING the calamitous state of the eastern empire, the love of literature was not yet extinct in those regions, where it had formerly flourished, as in its most natural soil.

It has been observed, that the Greek emperors of this age have been more illustrious for their writings than for their exploits. Andronicus the Elder composed some treatises, one of which was in the form of a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, and is said to have been no contemptible defence of the latter religion. The good and learned John Cantachuzene, after his retirement from the imperial dignity, wrote a history of his own reign and those of the Andronici; and Manuel Paleologus II. was the author of several divine and moral pieces*. The crowd of plebeian writers was much

* Du Pin, t. iii.

more numerous. They were however chiefly polemics, and were engaged on the topics which at that period divided the Greek and Latin churches. Among these we recognise the name of Barlaam, who at first appeared a zealous advocate for the Greek church, defended her tenets concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, and attacked the pope's supremacy; but afterwards, assuming a more moderate tone, he appeared as an advocate for an union of the churches. Among the disputants who appeared in this controversy, Palamas, Acyndinus, Planudes, Philotheus patriarch of Constantinople, and the two Cabasilas distinguished themselves. Some of the Greeks in this controversy defended ably the tenets of the Latin church.

Church history was also much cultivated at this period in Greece. Nicephorus Calistius, a monk of Constantinople, compiled a considerable work upon that subject. Theophilus, archbishop of Nice, appeared as an able defender of the truth of Christianity. Planudes translated the fifteen books of St. Augustin on the Trinity into Greek. Nilus, metropolitan of Rhodes, and Matthew Blastares, laboured on the history of the councils and canons of the church.

The scholastic divinity, which had been cultivated with so much success in the preceding century, under Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Alexander Hales, usurped almost the whole commonwealth of literature in the west. The most illustrious

illustrious of these doctors in the fourteenth century was the famous Duns Scotus, founder of the sect of Scotists, distinguished by their opposition to the Thomists (or the followers of Aquinas), and by their earnest support of the doctrine of the immaculate conception. The real name of Scotus was John Duns, and he obtained the appellation of Scotus, from the opinion that he was originally from Scotland; though it is by no means certain whether that country, England, or Ireland, is in reality entitled to the honour of his birth. He died at an early period of life, about forty years of age, of an epilepsy or apoplexy, probably produced by his studious habits. He left behind him a great variety of treatises, philosophical and theological, most of them written in opposition to the Thomists. The British nation indeed produced more than one ornament of the scholastic system. William Ockam, so named from a village in Surry where he was born, appeared also at the head of another sect of scholastics, who were entitled Nominalists; and as Scotus obtained the name of the Subtile Doctor, so Ockam was known by that of the Singular Doctor. He distinguished himself by writing in defence of Philip the Fair, in his dispute with the popes. Thomas Bradwardin, chancellor of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was a divine of rather a superior order, but much devoted to the scholastic divinity, and especially to the doctrines of Aquinas. His treatise

CENT. 14.] *St. Bridget. Catharine of Sienna.* 221

De Causa Dei, against Pelagius, is in some repute. The author of most consequence, after these, appears to be Durand de St. Pourgain, bishop of Meaux; but the catalogue is endless of those who, in the numerous seminaries of literature, endeavoured to render themselves illustrious, by an assiduous application to these fashionable but fruitless studies.

Few in this age applied themselves to the rational explication of scripture. The most eminent in this branch of learning was Nicholas de Lyra, a convert from Judaism to Christianity, who gave public lectures at Paris for several years on the sacred Scriptures, and has left some commentaries, in which he was much assisted by his rabbinical learning, and which are by no means destitute of merit or utility *. The Bible was, in this century, translated into French by Nicholas Oresmus, a Norman, and preceptor to Charles V. of France†.

Several books of devotion also made their appearance in this century. Among the writers most celebrated in this department are St. Bridget, a Swedish princess, and St. Catherine of Sienna, both of whom pretended to extraordinary revelations; and, in an ignorant and superstitious age, it may well be conceived, they were not without disciples ‡.

* Du Pin, t. iii. Formey, vol. i. p. 245.

† Du Pin.

‡ Formey, vol. i. p. 245.

The politer studies were not, however, without their votaries in this period, and especially in Italy. The elegant productions of Dante and Petrarch, and the wit and pleasantry of Boccacio, reflect a permanent lustre on the literary annals of the fourteenth century. The corruptions of the papal court were not suffered to escape the severe investigation of this illustrious triumvirate, and especially of Petrarch, who scruples not to apply the most flagrant terms of reproach.

Amongst the learned of this century should be mentioned Richard of Bury, who provided the first grammatical treatises of the Greek and Hebrew languages for the use of his countrymen, rescued the works of many ancient authors from oblivion, and formed one of the most valuable libraries the age could boast of*.

* See *Memoires pour la Vie de Petrarque*, tom. i. p. 164, &c.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

*Expulsion of the Moors from Spain—Discovery of America—
Extension of the Mussulman Empire in Asia—Overthrow of
the Grecian Empire—Taking of Constantinople by Mahomet
II.—Continuance of the Western Schism—Council of Pisa—
Three Popes at one Time—Council of Constance—Retrench-
ment of the Papal Power—Election of Martin V.—Perse-
cution of Heretics—John Hus, and Jerome of Prague—
Their Persecution and Death—Council of Basil—Eugenius
IV.—wishes to remove the Council to Italy—Contest between
the Pope and the Council—Eugenius summons a Council at
Ferrara—Deposition of Eugenius—Felix V.—Nicholas V.
—Alexander VI.*

IN the year 1492, Ferdinand, surnamed the Catholic, by the conquest of Granada, completely subverted the dominion of the Moors, or Saracens, in Spain. With a degree of moderation, which is honourable to the memory of this monarch, he at first made a solemn declaration, that none of
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the numerous adherents of Mahometanism who still remained, should be disturbed in the full enjoyment of their religious opinions. Ferdinand indeed flattered himself, that the exhortations and instructions of the clergy, together with the imperceptible effects of time, would produce the conversion of the Moors; but the experience of seven years only proved the fallacy of his hopes. Perceiving the inefficacy of these measures, the zealous king was persuaded by Cardinal Ximenes, his prime minister, to have recourse to severity; and the prevailing arguments of the inquisition induced two hundred thousand of the wretched Mussulmans to profess themselves believers in Christ. Many however still pertinaciously adhered to their former opinions; and the numerous victims, who were offered upon the sanguinary altar of the inquisition, sufficiently testify how far we may rely upon the sincerity of the conversion which the greater number originally professed.

The zeal of Ferdinand for the extension of Christianity was not confined to the disciples of the prophet of Mecca. His Jewish subjects were involved in a similar persecution, and were commanded either to unite with their Christian brethren, or to depart from the kingdom. Banishment, to which the confiscation of their property would in all probability be annexed, was a sentence so rigorous, that great numbers were impelled to dissemble their opinions, and to feign an assent to the doctrines of
of

of Christianity*. A still more considerable number, allured by the encouragement afforded them by John II. king of Portugal, took refuge in that country, where they hoped to find either a safe asylum, or the means of transporting themselves and their effects to some happier situation. These hopes were however fatally blasted, their property was confiscated to the state, and their persons were sold into slavery. Emanuel, the successor of John, on his ascension to the throne, made some reparation for this injustice, by an emancipation from slavery, and the restoration of their effects. This clemency was, however, transient: Emanuel deprived them of their children, and would once more have reduced them to a state of bondage, had not their remembrance of past sufferings, and the apprehension of further cruelty, induced them to submit to the initiatory rite of baptism, and to communion with their orthodox brethren. Three hundred thousand were baptized; but the sincerity of this conviction may be collected from the dark records of the *holy* inquisition.

The light of evangelical truth was diffused in this century among the Samogetæ and the neighbouring nations, but without producing its full effect. Towards the conclusion of this age, the Portuguese, who cultivated with ardour and success the art of navigation, had penetrated as far as

* Among these was the celebrated Rabbi Isaac Abailanel, so well known for his comments on scripture. H.

Ethiopia and the Indies; and in the year 1492, Christopher Columbus, by discovering the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica, opened a passage into America; and after him, Americus Vesputius, a citizen of Florence, landed on the continent of that vast region. Some of the new Argonauts, who discovered these nations, which had been hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, judged it their duty to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth. The first attempt of this nature was made by the Portuguese, among the Africans, who inhabit the kingdom of Congo, and who, together with their monarch, were suddenly converted to the Roman faith in the year 1491. After this religious revolution in Africa, Alexander VI. afforded a singular specimen of papal presumption, in dividing America between the Portuguese and Spaniards, but at the same time demonstrated his zeal for the propagation of the gospel, by the ardour with which he recommended to these two nations the instruction and conversion of the Americans, both in the isles and on the continent of that immense region*: and, in consequence of this exhortation, a number of Franciscans and Dominicans were dispatched into these countries. Interest, not religion, was unfortunately the governing spring of action with the first American settlers; the cruelties therefore inflicted upon the

* See the bull itself, in the Bullarium Romanum, tom. i. p. 446.

unhappy natives were infinitely more calculated to alienate them from the reception of Christianity, than to invite them to it; and the anti-christian practice of slavery was in every respect ill-calculated to promote the objects of piety. Instead therefore of gaining converts, these detestable ravagers exterminated whole nations. A few scattered Christians on the coasts of Africa and India, remain as testimonies of the industry of the Portuguese missionaries; but, in both these continents, the faith of Mahomet has been more successful than that of Christ.

In that vast territory of the East which once acknowledged the Roman sway, Christianity lost ground with unparalleled rapidity, and the Mahometans, whether Turks or Tartars, united their barbarous efforts to extinguish its bright and salutary lustre. Asiatic Tartary, Mogol, Tangut, and the adjacent provinces, where the religion of Jesus had long flourished, were now become the gloomy abodes of superstition, which reigned among them under the most oppressive forms. Nor in these immense tracts of land were there at this time any traces of Christianity visible, except perhaps in China, where the Nestorians still seem to have preserved some scattered remains of their former glory, and appeared like a faint and dying taper in the midst of a dark and gloomy firmament. That some Nestorian churches were still subsisting in these regions, may be accounted tolerably cer-

tain; for in this century their pontiff, in Chaldæa, sent missionaries into Cathay and China, who were empowered to exercise the authority of bishops over the Christian assemblies, which lay concealed in the remoter provinces of these great empires*. It is at the same time almost equally certain, that even these assemblies did not survive this century.

The dominions of the Byzantine Cæsars had been gradually diminished by the incroachments of the Mussulmans; and towards the conclusion of the preceding century, the imperial jurisdiction was contracted to a corner of Thrace, about fifty miles in length, and thirty in breadth; even this narrow space was denied by the enterprising Bajazet, who, in an insolent tone, demanded the possession of Constantinople itself. He was prevented from taking by force, what could not by treaty be granted, only by the intervention of a savage stronger than himself; and the victorious arms of Tamerlane afforded a short respite to the devoted city.

Under the reign of Amurath the Second, the grandson of Bajazet, the capital of the east sustained a severe siege; and, after his retreat, it was indulged in a servile and precarious respite of thirty years, subject, however, to an exorbitant tribute. The year 1453 was distinguished by the final overthrow of the Grecian empire. Mahomet the Second had long beheld, with a wishing eye, the venerable city of Constantine, and resolved, by

* Mosheim, cent. xv.

one great effort, to make it his own, or perish in the attempt. On the 29th of May, after a siege of fifty-three days, Constantinople was taken by storm. The last of the Cæsars, Constantine Paleologus, bravely fighting for his country and religion, fell, worthy of his name and imperial dignity, buried under a mountain of the slain*. With the empire of the Greeks their religious establishment was annihilated; and though a partial toleration was at first permitted, the religious despotism of their conquerors soon contracted it within more confined limits, and reduced the Christian religion and its professors to the miserable state in which they at present exist under the yoke of the Ottomans.

At the commencement of this century, we have already seen that the Latin Church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontiffs, Boniface IX. who remained at Rome, and Benedict XIII. who resided at Avignon. Upon the death of the former, the cardinals of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, Cosmat de Meliorati, who assumed the name of Innocent VII. and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only. After his decease, Angeli Carrario, a Venetian cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under the title of Gregory XII. A plan of reconciliation was, however, formed; and the contending pontiffs bound themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi.

papal chair, if that step should be adjudged necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but they both violated this solemn obligation. Benedict XIII. besieged in Avignon by the king of France, in the year 1408, saved himself by flight, retiring first into Catalonia, his native country, and afterwards to Perpignan. Hence, eight or nine of the cardinals, who adhered to his cause, finding themselves deserted by their pope, changed their party; and, joining publicly with the cardinals of Gregory XII. they agreed together to assemble a council at Pisa, on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the divisions and factions which had so long rent the papal empire. This council, however, which was designed to close the wounds of the church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was universally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and to excite new divisions. Its proceedings were indeed vigorous, and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced, on the 5th day of June, against the contending pontiffs, who were both declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honour or respect, and consequently separated from the communion of the church. This step was followed by the election of one pontiff in their place. The election was made on the 25th of June, and fell upon Peter of Candia, known in the papal annals by the name of Alexander

Alexander V.* but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. Benedict assembled a council at Perpignan; and Gregory, another near Aquileia, in the district of Friuli. The latter, however, apprehending the resentment of the Venetians†, made his escape in a clandestine manner from the territory of Aquileia, arrived at Caieta, where he threw himself upon the protection of Ladislaus, king of Naples; and, in the year 1412, he fled to Rimini.

Thus was the government of the Christian church violently assumed by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. Alexander V. who had been elected pontiff at the council of Pisa, died at Bologna in the year 1410; and the sixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy, by choosing, as his successor, Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, who was destitute of all principles both of religion and

* See L'Enfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, published in 4to. at Amsterdam, in the year 1724.—Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350.—Bossuet, *Defensio Decreti Gallicani de Potestate Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 17, &c.

† He had offended the Venetians by deposing their patriarch Antony Panciarini, and putting Anthony du Pont, the bishop of Concordia, in his place.

probity, and who assumed the title of John XXIII.* The dispositions and habits of the warlike pontiff were little calculated for producing the re-union of the church. His first efforts were directed against Ladislaus, king of Naples; but his insolence was severely punished by that monarch, who compelled him to leave Rome, whence he fled to Bononia. The duration of the schism in the papacy was a source of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious interests of those nations, who were infested with the spirit of the contending parties. Hence the emperor Sigismund, the king of France, and several other European princes, employed all their zeal and activity, and spared neither labour nor expence, in restoring the tranquillity of the church, and uniting it again under one spiritual head. The pon-

* In a council held at Rome by this pope, at the first session, happened the adventure of the owl. After the mass of the Holy Ghost, all being seated, and John sitting on his throne, suddenly a frightful owl came screaming out of his hole, and placed himself just before the pope, staring earnestly upon him. The arrival of this nocturnal bird, in the day-time, caused many speculations; some took it for an ill omen, and were terrified; others smiled, and whispered to each other that the Holy Ghost had assumed a strange form to appear in. As to the pope, he blushed, and was in a sweat, and arose, and brake up the assembly. But at the next session, the owl took his place again, fixing his eyes upon John, who was more dismayed than before, and ordered them to drive away the bird. A pleasing sight it was, to behold the prelates occupied in hunting him; for he would not decamp. At last they killed him, as an incorrigible heretic, by flinging their canes at him.

tiffs could not, however, be persuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the church to the gratification of their ambition ; so that no other possible method of accommodating this unfortunate contest remained, than that of assembling a general council, in which the controversy might be examined and terminated by the judgment and decision of the universal church. This council was accordingly summoned to meet at Constance, in the year 1414, by John XXIII. who was engaged in this measure by the entreaties of Sigismund, and the expectation that the decrees of the assembly would be favourable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended by a great number of cardinals and bishops, at this celebrated council, which was also honoured with the presence of the emperor Sigismund, and of a great number of German princes, and with that of the ambassadors of all the European states, whose monarchs or regents could not be personally present at the decision. As a preliminary to the deliberations of the council, John, conjointly with the other pretenders to the papacy, was required to engage that he would relinquish the pontifical chair, if such a measure should be found necessary to the extirpation of the schism. The wary pope endeavoured to evade this agreement by studied delays, and by expressing his assent in ambiguous terms. He was at length, however, persuaded to comply with this requisition, and this promise was confirmed by a solemn oath ; but he seized the first opportunity to withdraw

withdraw from the city, in the full expectation that his absence would prevent the deliberations of the council. In this hope he was disappointed.

The great purpose indeed of the convocation was to heal the schism which had so long rent the papacy; and this purpose was happily accomplished. It was solemnly declared, in the fourth and fifth sessions of this council, by two decrees, that the Roman pontiff was inferior and subject to a general assembly of the universal church; and the authority of the councils was effectually vindicated and maintained at the same time. This vigorous proceeding prepared the way for the degradation of John XXIII. who, during the twelfth session, was unanimously deposed from the pontificate, and Martin V. elected in his stead.

It is to be regretted that the proceedings of this council were not all equally directed to the promotion of peace and good order. But the persecution of the heretics which succeeded, disgraced the rational and prudent measures which were adopted for the regulation of the popedom. Before the meeting of this council, considerable commotions had been raised in several parts of Europe, and particularly in Bohemia, concerning religious opinions. A principal party in these disputes was John Huss, so called from Hussinetz in Bohemia, the place of his nativity. In the university of Prague, where he studied, Huss was early distinguished, and was honoured while a very young man with a letter from the celebrated Wickliff*. After

* Jo. Amos Comenii Hist. Frat. Boh.

taking

taking his degree he continued to reside at Prague, and enjoyed a very high reputation, both on account of the sanctity of his manners and the purity of his doctrine. He was distinguished by his uncommon erudition and eloquence, and was chosen to fill the important functions of professor of divinity in the university, as well as those of pastor in the church of that city. This eminent ecclesiastic declaimed with vehemence against the vices which had corrupted all the different ranks and orders of the clergy: he even went farther; and, from the year 1408, used his most assiduous endeavours to withdraw the university of Prague from the jurisdiction of Gregory XII. whom the kingdom of Bohemia had hitherto acknowledged as the lawful head of the church. Such an open defiance of the established hierarchy could scarcely escape the notice of those who were interested in its support; the archbishop of Prague therefore, and the clergy in general, who were warmly attached to the interests of Gregory, became naturally exasperated at these proceedings. A violent dispute arose between the incensed prelate and the zealous reformer, which the latter greatly inflamed and augmented by his pathetic exclamations against the court of Rome, and the corruptions prevalent among the sacerdotal orders; he even proceeded to recommend openly the writings and opinions of Wickliff*. Hence an accusation was brought

* See Laur. Byzini Diarium Belli Hussitici, in Ludwig's Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum, tom. vi. p. 127.

against him, in the year 1410, before the tribunal of John XXIII. by whom he was solemnly expelled from the communion of the church. He treated, it is true, this excommunication with contempt; and the fortitude and zeal, which he discovered on this occasion, were almost universally applauded.

This eminent man, whose piety was truly fervent and sincere, though his zeal was perhaps rather too violent, and his prudence not always equally circumspect, was summoned to appear before the council of Constance. He was obedient to this order, and thought himself secured from the rage of his enemies, by the safe-conduct which had been granted him by the emperor Sigismund*, for his journey to Constance, his residence in that place, and his return to his own country. Hufs was accompanied on this occasion by his faithful and intimate friend Jerome of Prague, who voluntarily came to the council with the generous design of supporting and seconding his fellow labourer. Jerome had early imbibed in England the doctrines of Wickliff, and had brought home to his native country the books of that reformer. When Hufs appeared before the council, he declaimed, with extraordinary vehemence, against the abuses of the

* Sigismund basely surrendered Hufs, on this occasion, to his enemies; and when the intrepid reformer fixed his eyes steadily upon him, he was observed to blush. It is said that Charles V. being importuned by Eccius to arrest Luther, notwithstanding the safe-conduct granted him, replied, "I will not blush with my predecessor Sigismund." L'Enfant.

church; but this freedom was not considered as unlawful in the council of Constance, where the tyranny of the court of Rome, and the corruption of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were censured with unreserved severity. Personal enmity was however supposed to co-operate with ecclesiastical tyranny, in the persecution of the Bohemian reformer. His active and malignant adversaries coloured the accusation brought against him, with such artifice and success, that he was cast into prison, declared an heretic, because he refused to obey the order of the council, commanding him to plead guilty against the dictates of his conscience, and was burnt alive, the 6th of July, 1415. The courage, which he had manifested in the pulpit, did not forsake him at the stake; he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and resignation the dreadful punishment, expressing in his last moments the noblest sentiments of love to God, and the most triumphant hope of the accomplishment of those promises with which the Gospel arms the true Christian at the approach of eternity. The same unhappy fate was endured by Jerome. Terrified however by the near prospect of a cruel death, Jerome at first appeared willing to submit to the orders of the council, and to abandon the tenets and opinions which he had affirmed in his writings. But this submission was not attended with the advantages he expected from it, nor did it deliver him from the close and severe confinement in which
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he was retained. He therefore resumed his fortitude, professed anew, with an heroic constancy, the opinions which the sudden impression of fear had caused him to desert, and maintained them in the flames, in which he expired on the 30th of May, 1416.

Before sentence had been pronounced against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the famous Wickliff, whose opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who was long since dead, was called from his rest before this tribunal, and his memory was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th of May, in the year 1415, a long list of propositions, selected from his writings, was examined and condemned; and an order was issued, to commit all his works, together with his bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the assembled fathers passed the celebrated decree, which took the cup from the laity in the celebration of the eucharist, ordered that the Lord's supper should be received by them only in one kind, *i. e.* the bread, and rigorously prohibited the communion in both kinds. This decree was occasioned by complaints which had been exhibited of the conduct of Jacobellus De Misa, curate of the parish of St. Michael at Prague, who, about a year before this, had been persuaded by Peter of Dresden to administer the Lord's supper in both kinds, and was followed in this by several churches*.

* Byzinii *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124.

The council, being informed of this circumstance by one of the Bohemian bishops, thought proper to oppose with vigour the progress of this heresy; and therefore they enacted the statute, which ordered the communion to be administered to the laity in one kind only, and which obtained the authority of a law in the church of Rome. After these and some other acts, more zealous than useful to the church, and much less to the real interests of Christianity, this famous council was dissolved on the 22d of April, 1418, having continued sitting for the extended space of three years and six months,

Previous to the dissolution of the assembly, a decree was enacted in favour of the frequent assembling of general councils, for the preservation of good order in the church. Two were accordingly appointed, the first at the expiration of five years, which was to be succeeded by another three years afterwards. A longer period than five years had however elapsed, before a council was convened: but the remonstrances of those, whose zeal for the reformation of the church interested them in this event, prevailed at length over the stratagems which were repeatedly employed to defer it; and Martin V. summoned a council to meet at Pavia, whence it was removed to Sienna, and thence to Basil. The pope did not live to be a witness of the proceedings of this assembly, being carried off by a sudden death, on the 21st day of February,
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in the year 1431, about the time when the council was to meet. He was immediately succeeded by Gabriel Condolmerus, a native of Venice, and bishop of Sienna, who is known by the title of Eugenius IV. This pontiff approved of all the measures which had been entered into by his predecessor, in relation to the assembling of the council at Basil, which was accordingly opened the 23d of July, 1431, under the superintendence of Cardinal Julian Cesarini, who performed the functions of president, in the absence of Eugenius.

On the first meeting of this council, it appeared, by its method of proceeding, and by the decrees which it enacted, that the assembled fathers were firmly resolved to effect the great purpose of their assembling. Eugenius IV. became alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, and, beholding with terror the zeal and designs of these spiritual physicians, attempted twice the dissolution of the council. His repeated attempts were vigorously and successfully opposed by the assembled fathers, who proved by the decrees of the council of Constance, and by other arguments equally conclusive, that the council was superior, in point of authority, to the pope. This controversy, which was the first that had arisen between a council and the pope, was terminated in the month of November, 1433, by the silence and concessions of the latter, who, the month following, wrote a letter from Rome, containing his approbation of the council, and his acknowledgment of its authority.

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These preliminary measures being concluded, the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the accomplishment of the important purposes for which it was assembled. The pope's legates were admitted as members of the council, but not before they had declared upon oath that they would submit to the decrees which should be enacted in it, and more particularly that they would adhere to the laws which had been framed in the council of Constance, in relation to the supremacy of general councils, and the subordination of the pontiffs to their authority and jurisdiction. Nay, these very laws, which the popes beheld with such aversion and horror, were solemnly renewed by the council, the 26th of June, in the year 1434; and on the 9th of the same month, in the following year, the Annates, as they were called, were publicly abolished, notwithstanding the opposition which was made to this measure by the legates of the Roman see. On the 25th of March, 1436, a confession of faith was read, which every pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election; the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and the papal impositions, called—Expectatives, Reservations, and Provisions—were entirely annulled. These measures, with others of a similar nature, provoked Eugenius in the highest degree, and induced him to form a design either for removing this troublesome and enterprising council into Italy, or erecting a new council in opposition to

242 *Eugenius summoned before the Council.* [CENT. 15.]

it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the church. On the 7th of May, in the year 1437, the assembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to a resolution of holding a council at Basil, Avignon, or some city in the duchy of Savoy, the intractable pontiff opposed this motion, and maintained that it should be transferred into Italy. Each of the contending parties persevered, with the utmost obstinacy, in the resolution they had taken, and a warm and violent contest ensued between the pope and the council. The latter summoned Eugenius to appear before them at Basil, the 26th day of July, 1437, in order to give an account of his conduct; but the pontiff, instead of complying with this summons, issued a decree, by which he pretended to dissolve the council, and to assemble another at Ferrara. The decree was, indeed, treated with contempt by the council, which, with the consent of the emperor, the king of France, and several other princes, continued its deliberations at Basil, and, on the 28th of September in the same year, pronounced a sentence of contumacy against the rebellious pontiff, for having refused to obey their order.

In the year 1438, Eugenius in person opened the council which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara, and at the second sessions published an excommunication against the fathers assembled at Basil. On the other hand, the council of Basil,
exasperated

exasperated by the imperious proceedings of Eugenius, deposed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, in the year 1439; but this vigorous measure was not approved by the European potentates. It may be easily conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff; his patience became wholly exhausted; and he devoted, for the second time, to damnation the members of the council of Basil, by a solemn and most severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in derision by the council of Basil, who, persisting in their purpose, elected another pontiff, and raised to that important dignity, Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who at that time resided in the most profound solitude at a delicious retreat, called Ripaille, upon the borders of the Leman lake. This pontiff is known in the papal annals by the name of Felix V.

The council which at first assembled at Ferrara, was transferred to Florence, and the deliberations of its members were chiefly directed to effecting a reconciliation between the Greek and the Latin Churches. At this council the Greek emperor John Paleologus personally attended, accompanied by his brother Demetrius Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, Marcus Eugenius, bishop of Ephesus, and other considerable persons. As the subjects in dispute were intricate, it was judged ex-

pedient to commit the decision to a few persons selected from both parties. At the head of the Greek arbitrators, was the learned Bessarion, who was devoted to the Latins, and indeed was afterwards made a cardinal in the Romish Church. By the influence chiefly of this great man, and the emperor's earnest solicitude to obtain succours against the Turks, the dispute was terminated, and the submissive Greeks agreed to observe as articles of faith the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as the Father; the doctrine of purgatory; the use of unleavened bread; and the supremacy of the pope. Marcus, bishop of Ephesus, was the only protester on this occasion, and no bribes could induce him to make the slightest concession of his principles. Such a league, however, which had no cement but that of artifice and momentary interest, could not long continue. The deputies, on their return to Constantinople, complained that they had been grossly deceived, and disavowed the whole of what they had apparently transacted.

Eugenius, who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of Rome, died in the month of February, 1447, and was succeeded, in a few weeks, by Thomas de Sarzano, bishop of Bologna, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of Nicholas V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions possible to the papal throne. Under his pontificate, the European

pean princes, particularly the king of France, exerted their utmost endeavours to restore tranquillity and union in the Latin Church, and their efforts were crowned with the desired success. In the year 1449, Felix V. resigned the papal chair, and returned to his delightful hermitage at Ripaille, while the fathers of the council of Basil assembled at Lausanne, ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a solemn decree, ordered the universal church to submit to the jurisdiction of Nicholas as their lawful pontiff. Nicholas proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June, in the same year, and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the acts and decrees of the council of Basil.

In the series of pontiffs who governed the church during this century, the last, in order of time, was Alexander VI. a Spaniard by birth, originally of the name of Roderic Borgia. That some monsters should have existed among so extended a succession, as the possessors of the papal throne, who were raised to that dignity through various motives and interests, is surely not to be wondered at; and among these none are branded with stronger marks of infamy than the house of Borgia. An inordinate affection for his children was the principal source of the crimes which Alexander committed. He had four sons by a concubine with whom he had lived many years, and among these was the infamous Cæsar Borgia. A daughter named Lu-

cretia was likewise among the fruits of this unlawful commerce. The tenderness of the pontiff for his spurious offspring was excessive beyond all expression; his only aim was to load them with riches and honours; and, in the execution of this purpose, he trampled with contempt upon every obstacle, which the demands of justice, the dictates of reason, and the remonstrances of religion, laid in his way. Thus he persisted in his profligate career until the year 1503, when the poison which he and his son Cæsar had mingled for others, who stood in the way of their avarice and ambition, cut short, by a happy mistake, his own days.

C H A P. II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES AND CEREMONIES IN THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

*Rich Donations to the Saints—Festival of the Transfiguration
—Indulgences granted to all who should devoutly celebrate
the Immaculate Conception.*

FEW alterations appear to have taken place in the established religion of this century. The reputation of Christian knowledge and piety was easily acquired, and was lavished upon those who professed a profound veneration for the sacred order, who studied to render the saints propitious by frequent and rich donations, who were exact and regular in the observance of the stated ceremonies of the church, and who had sufficient wealth to pay the fines which the papal questors had annexed to the commission of all the different degrees of transgression, or, in other words, to purchase indulgences. Such were the ingredients of ordinary piety; but such as added to these a certain degree of austerity and bodily mortification were placed in the highest order of devotees, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven.

Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontiffs complained of the increased multitude of ceremonies, festivals, and temples, and did not seem unwilling to have this enormous mass somewhat diminished, each of them distinguished his own pontificate by some new institution, and thought it a duty to perpetuate his fame by some new edict of this nature. Thus Calixtus III. to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of Belgrade from the victorious arms of Mahomet II. who had been obliged to raise the siege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456, the festival in honour of the transfiguration of Christ (which had been celebrated in some places by private authority before this period) to be religiously observed throughout all the western world. Sixtus IV. also, in the year 1476, granted indulgences, by an express and particular edict, to all those who should devoutly celebrate an annual festival in honour of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, with respect to which none of the popes before him had thought proper to make any express declaration, or any positive appointment*. The other additions to the Roman ritual, relating to the worship of the Virgin Mary, public and private prayers, and the traffic of indulgences, are of too little importance

* See Raph. Volaterrani Comment. Urbani, lib. viii. f. 289. Æneas Silvius, De Statu Europæ sub Frederico III. cap. x. in Freheri Scriptor. Rerum Germanicar. tom. ii. p. 104.

to deserve an exact enumeration. We need not such a particular detail to convince us, that in this century religion was reduced to mere shew, a shew composed of pompous absurdities and splendid trifles*.

* So little was the ecclesiastical canon, which forbids priests to bear arms, regarded, that a bishop newly elected at Hildesheim, inquiring after the library of his predecessor, was conducted to an arsenal full of all military weapons: These are the books, said they, of which your predecessors made use, and which you must use to defend your church against the usurpations of your neighbours. L'Enfant.

C H A P. III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

*Wickliffites—Waldenses—Savonarola—Bohemian Troubles
from the Disciples of Husi.*

PERSECUTION, though it might stifle, could not wholly extinguish the latent sparks of reformation which were diffused through most parts of Christendom. In England and Scotland, the disciples of Wickliff, whom the multitude had stigmatized with the title of Lollards, continued to inveigh against the despotic laws of the pontiffs, and the licentious manners of the clergy*. The Waldenses, though oppressed on all sides and from every quarter, raised their voices, even in the remote valleys and lurking-places whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and excited the attention of all reflecting persons to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Even in Italy many, and among others the famous Savonarola, had the courage to declare that Rome was become the image of Babylon; and this opinion was soon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and

* See Wilkins, *Magnæ Britann. et Hibern. tom. iv.* Wood, *Antiq. Oxon. tom. i. p. 202. 204.*

conditions.

conditions. But the greater part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches, would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, opposed every thing that bore the remotest aspect of a reformation, and imposed silence upon these importunate censors, by the formidable authority of fire and sword.

The religious dissensions which had been excited in Bohemia by the ministry of John Hufs and his disciple Jacobellus de Misa, were greatly inflamed by the deplorable fate of Hufs and Jerome of Prague, and broke out into an open war, which was carried on with the most savage and unparalleled barbarity. The followers of Hufs, who pleaded for the administration of the cup to the laity in the holy sacrament, and the other dissidents, being persecuted and oppressed in every possible manner by the emissaries and ministers of the court of Rome, retired to a steep and high mountain in the district of Bechin, in which they held their religious meetings, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kinds. This mountain they called Thabor, from the tents which they at first erected there for their habitation; and afterwards they raised a strong fortification for its defence, and adorned it with a well-built and regular city. The inhabitants of Thabor consisted of several sects, whose only bond of union was their
opposition

opposition to the court of Rome. The first and most numerous class of dissidents were called *Calixtins*, from *calix* a cup; and these differed from the Catholics only in insisting on the sacrament being administered in both kinds. Another party were termed *Zealots*, because they contended for a complete reformation of the church. The *Picards* also, who in the course of this century revived some of the tenets of the Adamites, and several of the Waldenses, repaired to this seat of liberty as to a city of refuge.

John Zisca, a Bohemian knight, was at the head of this new establishment. From, perhaps, a too literal application of the prophecies, his immediate followers concluded, that the temporal reign of the Messiah was at hand, that he would immediately extirpate the enemies of the faith, and that it was consequently lawful to employ violent measures for the promotion of the truth. The war was sustained with great success by the Thaborites till the death of Zisca, after which, the people chose a general of the name of Procopius, a man of considerable ability. After defeating the Catholics in several engagements, Procopius, with several of his clergy, consented to attend the council of Basil. After this they appear to have been deserted by the Calixtins, to whom the council conceded their demand; and, their force being broken, the emperor Sigismund opposed them with considerable success. In a fatal battle, their general, Procopius, was killed;

led; and though they still maintained themselves in Thabor, they continued to diminish both in number and in consequence, till the succeeding century, when they, with the rest of the Bohemian brethren, were among the first who joined Luther, and the fathers of the reformation *.

* Com. Hist. Frat. Æn. Syl. Hist. Bohem. Formey, vol. i. p. 267. Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 262 et seq.

C H A P. IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

*Superiority of Greek Literature—Cultivated by Petrarch and Boccacio—Greek Professors established at Florence—Cardinal Bessarion—Ardour of the Latins—Nicholas V.—Cosmo de Medicis—Discovery of Printing—Nicholas Clemen-
gus—Laurentius Valla—Aretin and Poggio—English Writers—John Wesselus—Jerome Savanarola—Æneas Silvius—Thomas a Kempis—Pica della Mirandola.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the strenuous, and in some degree successful efforts which took place in the ages immediately preceding, still the true æra of the revival of letters is the fifteenth century. In the short sketches which have been occasionally exhibited in this history of the state of literature, the superiority of the Greeks to the Latins must be obvious to every reader. “ In their lowest servitude and depression,” says a modern historian, “ the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy*.”

* Gibbon, vi. 414.

In this calamitous period, however, the few Byzantine writers which appeared were chiefly employed upon the controversies between the eastern and the western churches. But if they performed little in their own country, still, after their dispersion, it must be confessed that they did more to the enlightening of Europe with true science, than perhaps the most excellent compositions could have effected.

In the preceding century some sparks of Grecian taste had been caught by the inquisitive Tuscans; and the learned Barlaam, in his fruitless visits to Italy, formed an intimate connection with the illustrious Petrarch, and produced in the first of Latin scholars an enthusiastic admiration of the language of Homer and of Plato. The progress of Petrarch, however, does not appear to have reached beyond mere admiration; his avocations were too many for the attainment of a difficult language at an advanced period of life; and the necessary absence of Barlaam deprived him of that assistance on which he perhaps rested his hopes of success. Boccacio, the friend of Petrarch, and the father of Tuscan prose, was more fortunate; and by his influence a Greek professorship was instituted at Florence, and Leo Pilatus, the master of Boccacio, was chosen the first professor.

The feeble rudiments, however, of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged, and Boccacio had fostered, soon declined and expired; and

it was not till the calamities of Constantinople had dispersed through Europe a crowd of learned and indigent Greeks, that the study of that language may be said to have prospered in the West. Manuel Chrysoloras, who came on a begging embassy from the Eastern empire to the courts of Europe, was converted from an envoy into a professor, and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation. The celebrated cardinal Bessarion was at once the patron and promoter of his native studies; and his zeal was seconded by the successful labours of Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who explained the classics of Greece in the schools of Florence and of Rome.

The ardour of the Latins was, however, not confined to a single branch of science; but it became the ambition of princes and of republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. "The fame of Nicholas V." says Mr. Gibbon, "has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin, he raised himself by his virtue and learning; the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope; and he sharpened those weapons which were soon pointed against the Roman Church. He had been the friend of the most eminent scholars of the age: he became their patron; and such was the humility of his manners, that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed
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the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of desert, but as the proof of benevolence; and when modest merit declined his bounty, "accept it," would he say, with a consciousness of his own worth; "you will not always have a Nicholas among ye." The influence of the holy see pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican, the old repository for bulls and legends, for superstition and forgery, was daily replenished with more precious furniture; and such was the industry of Nicholas, that, in a reign of eight years, he formed a library of five thousand volumes. To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek Church."

The example of this pontiff was emulated by a Florentine merchant, Cosmo of Medicis, the father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning. He traded with the remotest quarters of the

globe, and a cargo of Indian spices and of Greek books was frequently imported in the same vessel. The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes*.

But the almost accidental discovery of the art of printing, between the years 1440 and 1443, conducted more than any other cause to the cultivation of learning and science in the west. It is an unpleasing reflection, that the authors of the most useful discoveries generally wear their honours by a dubious or disputed title. Thus the invention of printing was originally claimed by a multitude of contemporaries, and even still the honour seems to be divided between Mentel of Strasburgh, Guttenburgh and Faust of Mentz, and Coster of Haarlem. It is not credible that an art, which had escaped the observation of ages, should be discovered at once by a number of persons; it is more probable that, on the first rumour of the invention, ingenious men would apply their imaginations to discover the means by which it was effected; and thus a number of claimants would appear before the real inventor could well establish his title to the fruits of his industry, or his good fortune. The tide of evidence seems at present however to run in favour of Faust, who is said to have received Guttenburgh as a partner, though there

* Gibbon, vi. p. 430.

are not wanting advocates in favour of the latter as the father of printing*.

This useful invention was at first regarded as an effect of magic, and was retained as a singular mystery by the first professors of the art. It was, however, conveyed into England as early as the year 1464, by the influence of Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, who prevailed upon Henry VI. to dispatch Robert Tournour, one of the gentlemen of the wardrobe, to Haarlem, with a view of making the English masters of the invention. Tournour, with a purse of one thousand marks, of which three hundred proceeded from the treasury of the archbishop, embarked for Holland, and, to conceal more completely his intention, took with him one Caxton, a merchant, pretending to be himself of the same profession. With these precautions, and having altered his name, he proceeded first to Amsterdam, and thence to Haarlem, where, after some time, he was successful enough to persuade Corfelli, one of Guttenburgh's compositors, to carry off a set of letters, and embark with him for London. On their arrival, the archbishop, considering Oxford as a more convenient situation than London, sent Corfelli thither. Thus the art of printing appeared at that university ten years sooner than at any other place in Europe, Haarlem and Mentz excepted†.

* See Bowyer's *Origin of Printing*.

† Wood's *Hist. Univ. of Oxf.* l. i. p. 226.

By this invention a knowledge not only of the Scriptures, but of all profane sciences, was more extensively diffused than it could otherwise have been; it became a means of perpetuating those valuable remains of antiquity, which the industry of the learned was daily drawing out of obscurity, and was a powerful instrument in the hand of Providence for the promotion of the important reformation which took place in the century succeeding.

Under these favourable circumstances the crowd of authors who sprung up far exceeds the limits of this publication. Nicholas Clemengis, a French divine, is accounted by Du Pin the most eloquent author of the age: his writings were chiefly controversial; but there are some fragments among them critical and historical. Laurentius Valla, canon of the Lateran, is also of some note as a critic; and the celebrated Aretin and Poggio were among the first who cultivated what may truly be called polite literature.

The controversy concerning the tenets of the Hussites produced a variety of authors; and the sanguine and unsettled temper of the English distinguished them in this century as the opponents of the church. As early as the year 1404, Paul Langlais composed his treatise entitled "The Looking-glass of the Pope and his Court;" and Richard Ullerston wrote much on the subject of reformation. These topics were not indeed neglected in other countries. John Wesselus, a native of Groningen,
for

for his acuteness and penetration, was entitled the Light of the World; and Jerome Savonarola, originally a Dominican of Ferrara, was, in 1498, committed to the flames at Florence, for the boldness with which he impeached the papal vices*.

Æneas Silvius, afterwards pope Pius II. was a man of abilities and address. He employed his genius entirely for his own advancement, in other words, in promoting the designs of the court of Rome; and, as he was not suspected of much principle, he was possessed of a most convenient versatility in his opinions—"As Æneas Silvius," said he, "I was a damnable heretic, but as pope Pius II. I am an orthodox pontiff†." The divine, however, of this century who is most generally known at present, was Thomas a Kempis, a native of Cologne. He composed many devotional treatises; but his title to the popular book on the Imitation of Jesus Christ is disputed.

In this age lived the much celebrated Pica, prince of Mirandola, whose attainments were so extraordinary, that at the age of twenty-three he is said to have published theses upon almost every science, and to have undertaken to maintain them in all the schools. He was suspected of heresy, but obtained an absolution from Alexander VI. To his great learning he added the more estimable praise of

* Mosh. Cent. xv.

† Bayle's Dict. Mosh. Cent. xv.

servent piety, and even renounced his sovereignty, and distributed all his property to the poor*. Du Pin is candid enough to say of his writings, that they "are full of force and elegance, and teach the most exalted morality."

Among the greater part of the interpreters of Scripture who lived in this century, we find nothing worthy of applause. Such of them as aimed at something higher than the character of bare compilers, and ventured to draw their explications from their own sense of things, did little more than amuse, or rather delude, their readers, with mystical and allegorical fancies. At the head of this class of writers is Alphonfus Tostatus, bishop of Avila, whose voluminous commentaries upon the sacred writings exhibit nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. Laurentius Valla is entitled to a more favourable judgment, and his small collection of Critical and Grammatical Annotations upon the New Testament is far from being destitute of merit, since it pointed out to succeeding authors the true method of removing the difficulties that sometimes present themselves to such as study with attention the divine oracles. It is proper to observe here, that these sacred books were, in almost all the kingdoms and states of Europe, translated into the language of each respective people, particularly in Germany, Italy, France, and

* Du Pin, Cent. xv.

Britain. This circumstance naturally excited the expectations of a considerable change in the state of religion, and induced the thinking few to hope that the increase of knowledge would be at least in some degree attended by its proper consequence, the increase of virtue, and by the dissolution of that dreadful tyranny, which, under the pretence of a Divine authority, had so long been exercised by some of the most depraved of the human race over the minds, the bodies, and the fortunes of men.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH PREVIOUS TO THE REFORMATION.

*General Tranquillity of the Church—Pius III.—Julius II.
—Warlike Spirit of the Pope—Dispute with Lewis XII,
—Leo X.—Popes from Leo X. to Clement VIII.*

THE situation of the Roman pontiffs was singular at the commencement of this century. They had not, according to the apparent state of things, the smallest reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions, or rebellion against their authority; since those alarming commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses and Albigenses, and lately by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of the council and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained, lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty in the vallies of Piedmont, and proposed

to themselves no higher earthly felicity, than that of leaving to their descendants that wretched and obscure corner of Europe, which separates the Alps from the Pyrenean mountains ; while the handful of Bohemians, who survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowledge adequate to any new attempt, and therefore, instead of inspiring terror, became objects of contempt.

Alexander VI. was succeeded in the pontificate by Pius III. who, in less than a month after his election, was deprived, by death, of his new dignity ; and the vacant chair was obtained, by fraud and bribery, by Julius II. To the other odious vices with which this man dishonoured the pontificate, may be added the most savage ferocity, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and frenetic passion for war. He began his military enterprises by entering into a war with the Venetians, after having strengthened his cause by an alliance with the emperor and the king of France*. He then laid siege to Ferrara ; and, at length, turned his arms against his former ally, the French monarch, in conjunction with the Venetians, Spaniards, and Swiss, whom he had drawn into this war, and engaged in his cause

* See Du Bos, *Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray*, published at the Hague in two vols. 8vo. in the year 1710.

by an offensive league. His whole pontificate, indeed, was one continued scene of military tumult, nor during his life did he suffer Europe to enjoy one moment's tranquillity.

From this dreadful cloud which was suspended over Europe, some rays of light, however, seemed to break forth, which promised a better state of things, and gave some reason to expect a reformation in the church. Lewis XII. king of France, provoked by the insults he had received from this violent pontiff, meditated revenge, and even caused a medal to be struck, with a menacing inscription, expressing his resolution to overturn the power of Rome, which was represented by the title of Babylon on this coin. Several cardinals also, encouraged by the protection of this monarch and the emperor Maximilian I. assembled, in the year 1511, a council at Pisa, with an intention to set bounds to the tyranny of Julius, and to correct and reform the errors and corruptions of a superstitious church. The pope, on the contrary, relying on his own strength, and on the power of his allies, beheld these threatening appearances without the least concern, and even treated them with mockery and contempt. He did not, however, neglect the proper methods of rendering ineffectual the efforts of his enemies, and therefore gave orders for a council to meet in the palace of the Lateran, in the year 1512, in which the decrees of the council of Pisa were condemned and annulled in the most injurious

injurious and insulting terms. This condemnation would, undoubtedly, have been followed with the most formidable anathemas against Lewis and other princes, had not death snatched away the enterprising pontiff, in 1512, in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

He was succeeded, in the year 1513, by Leo X. of the family of Medicis. This pontiff was a protector of men of learning, and was himself learned. He was a lover and a patron of the arts. His time was divided between conversation with men of letters, and pleasure. He had an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the utmost impatience under events of that nature. He did not, however, neglect the grand object which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart, the promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see. He was careful that nothing should be transacted in the council of the Lateran, which Julius had assembled and left sitting, that had the least tendency to favour the reformation of the Church. He went still farther; and, in a conference with Francis I. king of France, at Bologna, engaged that monarch to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction, so long odious to the popes of Rome, and to substitute in its place another body of laws, more advantageous to the papacy, which were imposed upon his subjects under the title of the Concordate, and received with the utmost indignation and reluctance.

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The principal transactions of the six immediate successors of Leo will be found in a succeeding chapter, which treats of the reformation. Let it suffice for the present to remark, that they were the melancholy witnesses of the dismemberment of the papal dominion, for the maintenance of which, they, however, contended with zeal at least, if not with policy. Of the popes who followed the establishment of the reformed religion, Pius V. a man of a severe and melancholy disposition, rendered himself remarkable by a bull, which he published against Elizabeth, queen of England, degrading her from her dignity, and exhorting her subjects to revolt against her; and Gregory XIII. openly commended the massacre of the Protestants in France. Sixtus V. was the son of a poor peasant on the borders of Ancona, but was possessed of a most ambitious mind, and proved a severe master and a troublesome neighbour. His best quality was a love of letters. He caused the version of the Bible called the Vulgate, as corrected by the council of Trent, to be printed in 1589, as the only authentic version of the sacred scriptures. The three succeeding popes enjoyed that dignity only a few weeks; and on the 26th of February, 1592, Clement VIII. was elected, whose pontificate was distinguished by a famous dispute concerning Grace; which for some time divided and harassed the Church of Rome.

CHAP. II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, CEREMONIES, &c. IN THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Splendid but trifling Ceremonies—Scholastic Subtleties—Sermons—Strange Acceptation of the Term Good Works—Increase of Monkery—Dominicans—Strange Narrative concerning Jetzer—Ignorance of the Monks—Institution of the Jesuits—Their Constitution and Policy—Capuchins—Recollets—Regular Clerks, or Theatins—Priests of the Oratory—Bare-footed Carmelites.

THE public worship of the Romish church consisted, in this age, of only a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greater part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes than to affect the heart. The number of those, who were at all qualified to administer public instruction to the people, was not very considerable; and their discourses, which contained little more than fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived instead of instructing the multitude. Several of these sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without indignation and contempt. Those declaimers, who, on account of their gravity of manners, or their supposed superiority in wisdom and knowledge, held the most distinguished rank,
had

had a common-place set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were constantly exercising the power of their eloquence. These subjects were the authority of the church, and the obligations of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints, and their credit at the tribunal of heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the Blessed Virgin; the efficacy of relics; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries; the necessity of these good works (as that phrase was then understood) to salvation; the intolerable flames of purgatory, and the utility of indulgences. Such were the subjects which employed the zeal and labours of the most eminent doctors of this century. Nor was the restoration of letters sufficient to revive in mankind a sense of their own dignity, or to recover them from the miserable bondage to which through ignorance they had imperceptibly subjected themselves, and in which they were now partly retained by the extended arm of persecution.

The prodigious swarms of monks, that overspread Europe in the course of this century, occasioned universal murmurs and complaints. Such, however, was the genius of the age, that they would have remained undisturbed, had they taken the smallest pains to preserve any remains even of that external decency and religion which distinguished them in former times. But the Benedictine and other monkish fraternities, who
were

were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands and revenues; broke through all restraint, made the worst possible use of their opulence; and, forgetful of the gravity of their character, and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the shameless practice of every vice. The mendicant orders, and particularly those who followed the rule of St. Dominic and St. Francis, though perhaps not borne away by the general torrent of licentiousness, lost their credit in a different manner; for their rusticity, their superstitions, their ignorance, and cruelty, alienated from them the minds of the people, and effectually diminished their reputation. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed an abhorrence of those eminent and learned men, who endeavoured to open the paths of science to the pursuits of the studious youth, who recommended the culture of the mind, and attacked the barbarism of the age in their writings and conversation.

Among all the monastic orders, none enjoyed a higher degree of power and authority than the Dominican friars, whose credit was great, and whose influence was universal. They filled the most eminent stations in the church, presided every where over the formidable tribunal of the inquisition, and had the care of souls, with the function of confessors, in all the courts of Europe; a circumstance which, in these times of ignorance and
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superstition,

superstition, manifestly tended to place the majority of the European princes in their power. Notwithstanding these advantages, the influence of the Dominicans began to decline, and several marks of perfidy, which appeared in the measures they employed to extend their authority, exposed them to the malignity of their enemies, and the indignation of the public. Amongst the variety of frauds practised upon the credulity of the multitude, the page of history records none more extraordinary than the celebrated imposition which was performed at Bern, in 1509, by this impious fraternity. This stratagem was employed in consequence of the rivalry between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and particularly respecting the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. The former, as was already stated, maintained, that she was born without blemish of original sin: the latter asserted the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in an age of darkness and superstition, could not but be popular; and hence the Dominicans perceptibly lost ground. To support the credit of their order, they resolved, in a chapter held at Vimpfen in 1504, to have recourse to fictitious visions and dreams, in which the people at that period had an unlimited faith; and they determined to make Bern the scene of their operations. A person named Jetzer, who was extremely simple, and much inclined to austerities, and who had taken their habit, of a lay-brother, was chosen as the instrument of the delusions

delusions they were contriving. One of the four Dominicans, who had undertaken the management of this plot, conveyed himself secretly into Jetzer's cell, and about midnight appeared to him in a tremendous form, surrounded with howling dogs, and seeming to blow fire from his nostrils, by the means of a box of combustibles which he held near his mouth. In this alarming form he approached Jetzer's bed, told him that he was the ghost of a Dominican, who had been killed at Paris, as a judgment of Heaven for laying aside his monastic habit; that he was condemned to purgatory for his crime; adding, at the same time, that, by his means, he might be rescued from his misery, which was beyond expression. This story, accompanied with fearful lamentations, alarmed the unfortunate Jetzer, and engaged him to promise to perform all in his power to deliver the Dominican from his torment. Upon this the impostor told him, that nothing but the most extraordinary mortifications, such as the discipline of the whip, performed during eight days by the whole monastery, and Jetzer's lying prostrate, in the form of one crucified, in the chapel during mass, could contribute to his deliverance. He added, that the performing of these mortifications would draw down upon Jetzer the peculiar protection of the Blessed Virgin; and concluded by saying, that he would appear to him again, accompanied by two other spirits. Morning no

sooner arrived, than Jetzer gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who unanimously advised him to undergo the discipline which was enjoined; and each consented to bear his share of the task imposed. The deluded brother obeyed, and was admired as a saint by the multitude that crowded about the convent, while the four friars, who managed the imposture, magnified in the most pompous manner the miracle of this apparition, in their sermons and in their discourse. The following night the apparition was renewed, with the addition of two impostors, dressed like devils; and Jetzer's faith was augmented by hearing from the spectre all the secrets of his life and thoughts, which the impostors had learned from his confessor. In this and some subsequent scenes the impostor conversed much with Jetzer on the Dominican order, which he said was peculiarly dear to the Blessed Virgin; he added, that the Virgin knew herself to be conceived in original sin; that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory; that the Blessed Virgin abhorred the Franciscans for making her equal with her Son; and that the town of Bern would be destroyed for harbouring such pests within her walls. In one of these apparitions, Jetzer imagined that the voice of the spectre resembled that of the prior of the convent, and he was not mistaken; but, not suspecting a fraud, he gave little attention to this circumstance.

stance. The prior appeared in various forms, sometimes in that of St. Barbara, at others in that of St. Bernard; at length he assumed that of the Virgin Mary, and, for that purpose, clothed himself in the habits which were employed to adorn the statue of the Virgin in the great festivals; the little images, which on these days are set on the altars, were made use of for angels, which being tied to a cord that passed over Jetzer's head, rose up and down, and danced round the pretended Virgin, to increase the delusion. The Virgin, thus equipped, addressed a long discourse to Jetzer, in which, among other things, she told him, that she was conceived in original sin, though she had remained but a short time under that blemish. She gave him, as a miraculous proof of her presence, a host, or consecrated wafer, which turned from white to red in a moment; and after various visits, she told Jetzer, that she would add the most affecting and undoubted marks of her Son's love, by imprinting on him the five wounds that pierced Jesus on the cross, as she had done before to St. Lucia and St. Catharine. Accordingly she took his hand by force and struck a large nail through it, which threw the poor fanatic into the greatest agony. The next night, this pretended Virgin brought, as she said, some of the linen in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound, and gave Jetzer a soporific draught, which had in it the blood of an unbaptized infant, some

grains of incense and of consecrated salt, some quicksilver, the hairs of the eye-brows of a child, all which, with some stupefying and poisonous ingredients, were mingled together by the prior, with magic ceremonies, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil, in the hope of his succour. This draught threw the poor wretch into a sort of lethargy, during which, the monks imprinted on his body the other four wounds of Christ in such a manner that he felt no pain. When he awaked, he found, to his unspeakable joy, these impressions on his body, and came at last to fancy himself a representative of Christ in the various parts of his passion. He was, in this state, exposed to the admiring multitude on the principal altar of the convent, to the great mortification of the Franciscans. The Dominicans gave him other draughts, which threw him into convulsions, and were followed by a voice conveyed through a pipe into the mouths of two images, one of Mary, and another of the child Jesus; the former of which had tears painted upon its cheek in a lively manner. The little Jesus asked his mother, by means of this voice (which was that of the prior), why she wept: and she answered, that her tears were owing to the impious manner in which the Franciscans attributed to her the honour that was due to him, in saying that she was conceived and born without sin.

The

The apparitions, false prodigies, and absurd stratagems of the Dominicans were repeated every night; and the matter was at length so grossly over-acted, that, simple as Jetzer was, he at last discovered it, and had almost killed the prior, who appeared to him one night in the form of the Virgin with a crown on her head. The Dominicans fearing, by this discovery, to lose the fruits of their imposture, concluded that the best method would be to confess the whole to Jetzer, and to engage him, by the most seducing promises of opulence and reputation, to prosecute the cheat. Jetzer was persuaded, or at least appeared to be so. But the Dominicans, suspecting that he was not entirely to be depended upon, resolved to poison him; his constitution, however, was so vigorous, that, though they gave him poison several times, he was not destroyed by it. One day they sent him a loaf prepared with some spices, which growing green in a day or two, he threw a piece of it to a wolf's whelps in the monastery, and it killed them immediately. At another time they poisoned the host, or consecrated wafer; but as he vomited it up soon after he had swallowed it, he escaped once more. Finding at last an opportunity of escaping from the convent, he threw himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he made a full discovery of this ill-conducted plot. The affair being brought to Rome, commissaries were sent to examine the matter; and the whole

deception being fully proved, the four friars were solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and were burnt alive on the last day of May, 1509. Jetzer died some time after at Constance, having poisoned himself, as was believed by some; while others have, possibly with injustice, charged his death on his adversaries; since after all, the most probable supposition is, that his vigorous constitution, though not destroyed, was yet undermined by the sufferings it had undergone, which certainly might hasten, though they did not immediately effect, his dissolution*.

The principal appointments in the public schools were at this period filled very frequently by monks of the mendicant orders. This circumstance prevented their emerging from that ignorance and darkness which had so long enveloped them; and it also rendered them inaccessible to that auspicious light of improved science, whose salutary beams had already been felt in some of the European provinces. The instructors of youth, dignified with the venerable titles of artists, grammarians, physicians, and dialecticians, loaded the memories of their laborious pupils with a multitude of barbarous terms, senseless distinctions, and scholastic precepts, delivered in the most inelegant style; and all such as could repeat this jargon with a certain

* Hottinger, *Hist. Helvet. Eccl.* p. 334. *Hist. de la Reform. en Suisse.* Burnet's *Travels*, p. 31.

readiness and rapidity, were considered as men of uncommon eloquence and erudition.

In the course of this century, the internal government of the church of Rome underwent some not unimportant alterations, a considerable part of which may be ascribed to the influence of the reformation by Luther. One of the most remarkable of these events was the establishment of the order of Jesuits, a body, whose influence on ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs has been more considerable than that of any religious order that ever appeared within the pale of the Christian church. When men take a view of the rapid progress of this society towards wealth and power; when they contemplate the admirable prudence with which it has been governed; when they attend to the persevering and systematic spirit with which its schemes have been carried on; they are apt to ascribe such a singular institution to the superior wisdom of its founder, and to suppose that he had formed and digested his plan with profound policy. But the Jesuits, as well as the other monastic orders, are indebted for the existence of their order, not to the wisdom of their founder, but to his enthusiasm. Ignatio Loyola was a fanatic, distinguished by extravagancies in sentiment and conduct, no less incompatible with the maxims of reason, than repugnant to the spirit of religion. The wild adventures and visionary schemes, in which his en-

thufiasm engaged him, equal any thing recorded in the legends of the Romifh faints ; but are unworthy of notice in hiftory *.

Prompted by this fanatical fpirit, or incited by the love of power and diftinction, from which fuch pretenders to fuperior fanctity are not exempt, Loyola was ambitious of becoming the founder of a religious community. The plan, which he formed of its constitution and laws, was fuggelted, as he gave out, by the immediate infpiration of heaven†. But notwithstanding this high pretention, his defign met at firft with violent oppofition. The pope, to whom Loyola had applied for the fanc-tion of his authority to confirm the institution, referred his petition to a committee of cardinals.— They represented the eftablifhment to be unneces-fary as well as dangerous, and Paul refufed to grant his approbation. At laft, Loyola removed all his fcruples, by an offer which it was impoffible for any pope to refift. He propofed, that befides the three vows of poverty, of chaftity, and of mo-naftic obedience, which are common to all the orders of regulars, the members of his fociety fhould take a fourth vow of obedience to the

* The late ingenious Mr. Bowles attempted to fhew that this renowned faint was the prototype of Don Quixote himfelf. See his letter to Bifhop Percy. H.

† *Compte rendu des Conftitutions des Jéfuites, au Parlement de Provence, par M. de Monclar, p. 285.*

pope, binding themselves to go whithersoever he should command, for the service of religion, and without requiring any thing from the Holy See for their support. At a time when the papal authority had received such a shock by the revolt of so many nations from the Romish church; at a time when every part of the popish system was attacked with so much violence and success, the acquisition of a body of men, thus peculiarly devoted to the see of Rome, and whom it might set in opposition to all its enemies, was an object of the highest consequence. Paul, instantly perceiving this, confirmed the institution of the Jesuits by his bull; granted the most ample privileges to the members of the society; and appointed Loyola to be the first general of the order.

The constitution and laws of the society were perfected by Laynez and Aquaviva, the two generals who succeeded Loyola, men far superior to their master in abilities, and in the science of government.

The primary object of almost all the monastic orders is to separate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs. In the solitude and silence of the cloister, the monk is called to work out his own salvation by extraordinary acts of mortification and piety. He is dead to the world, and ought not to mingle in its transactions. He can be of no benefit to mankind, but by his example and his prayers. On the contrary, the Je-

suits were taught to consider themselves as formed for action. They were chosen soldiers, bound to exert themselves continually in the service of God, and of the pope, his vicar upon earth. That they might have full leisure for this active service, they were totally exempted from those functions, the performance of which is the chief business of other monks. They appeared in no processions; they practised no rigorous austerities; they did not consume one half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices*. But they were required to attend to all the transactions of the world, on account of the influence which these may have upon religion; they were directed to study the dispositions of persons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendship †; and by the very constitution, as well as genius of the order, a spirit of action and intrigue was infused into all its members.

As the object of the society of Jesuits differed from that of the other monastic orders, the diversity was no less in the form of its government. The other orders are to be considered as voluntary associations, in which whatever affects the whole body is regulated by the common suffrage of all its members. The executive power is vested in the persons placed at the head of each convent,

* *Compte rendu*, par M. de Monclar, p. xiii. 290. *Sur la Destruction des Jesuites*, par M. d'Alembert, p. 42.

† *Compte par M. de Monclar*, p. 12.

or of the whole society ; the legislative authority resides in the community. Affairs of moment, relating to particular convents, are determined in conventual chapters ; such as respect the whole order are considered in general congregations. But Loyola, full of the ideas of implicit obedience, which he had derived from his military profession, appointed that the government of his order should be purely monarchical. A General, chosen for life by deputies from the several provinces, possessed power that was supreme and independent, extending to every person, and to every case. He, by his sole authority, nominated provincials, rectors, and every other officer employed in the government of the society, and could remove them at pleasure. In him was vested the sovereign administration of the revenues and funds of the order. Every member belonging to it was at his disposal ; and by his uncontrollable mandate, he could impose on them any task, or employ them in any service. To his commands they were required not only to yield outward obedience, but to resign to him the inclinations of their wills, and the sentiments of their minds. There is not in the annals of mankind any example of such absolute despotism, exercised not over monks confined in the cells of a convent, but over men dispersed among all the nations of the earth.

As the constitutions of the order vested in the general such absolute dominion over all its members,

bers, they carefully provided for his being perfectly informed with respect to the character and abilities of his subjects. Every novice, who offered himself as a candidate for entering into the order, was obliged to manifest his conscience to the superior, or to a person appointed by him; and in doing this was required to confess not only his sins and defects, but to discover the inclinations, the passions, and the bent of his soul. This manifestation was to be renewed every six months*. The society, not satisfied with penetrating in this manner into the innermost recesses of the heart, directed each member to observe the words and actions of the novices; and he was bound to disclose every thing of importance concerning them to the superior. In order that this scrutiny into their character might be as complete as possible, a long noviciate was to expire, during which they passed through the several gradations of ranks in the society, and they must have attained the full age of thirty-three years before they could be admitted to take the final vows, by which they became professed members†. In order that the general, who was the soul that animated and moved the whole society, might have under his eye every thing necessary to inform or direct him, the provincials and heads of the several houses were obliged to transmit

* *Compte par M. de Monclar, p. 121, &c.*

† *Compte par M. de Moncl. 215. 241. Sur la Destr. des Jes. par M. d'Alemb. p. 39.*

to him regular and frequent reports concerning the members under their inspection. In these they descended into minute details with respect to the character of each person, his abilities natural or acquired, his temper, his experience in affairs, and the particular department for which he was best fitted. These reports, when digested and arranged, were entered into registers kept on purpose, that the general might, at one comprehensive view, survey the state of the society in every corner of the earth; observe the qualifications and talents of its members; and thus choose, with perfect information, the instruments, which his absolute power could employ in any service for which he thought proper to destine them*.

Unhappily for mankind, the vast influence, which the order of Jesuits acquired, was often exerted with the most pernicious effect. Such was the tendency of that discipline observed by the society in forming its members, and such the fundamental maxims in its constitution, that every Jesuit was taught to regard the interest of the society as the capital object, to which every consideration was to be sacrificed. This spirit of attachment to their order, the most ardent, perhaps, that ever influenced any body of men†, is the characteristic principle of the Jesuits, and serves as a key to

* *Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 215. 439. Compte par M. de Chalotais, p. 52. 222.*

† *Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 285.*

the genius of their policy, as well as to the peculiarities in their sentiments and conduct.

The other monastic orders underwent some changes in their constitution. Matthew de Baffi, a native of Italy, and a Franciscan of the more rigid class, persuaded himself in the year 1521, that he was divinely inspired for the purpose of restoring the primitive discipline of his order. He became the father of the *Capuchins*, who are a branch of the Franciscans, and derive their name from the sharp pointed *capuche* or cowl, which they added to the ordinary Franciscan habit. They differ from the others only in this, and in the profession of a higher degree of sanctity and severity. Another branch of the Franciscan order received the denomination of *Recollets* * in France, *reformed Franciscans* in Italy, and *bare-footed Franciscans* in Spain. In 1532, they were furnished with a separate rule by Clement VII. and are called *Friars Minors of the strict observance*.

The first society of *regular Clerks* was formed in 1529, and called *Theatins*, from their founder John Peter Caraffa, bishop of Theate in Naples, and afterwards pope, under the title of Paul IV. The distinguishing profession of this order is extreme poverty without even the resource of begging. In this age, so fertile in these noxious productions,

* So called from the faculty of *recollection*, by which they pretended to revive the rule of St. Francis. Formey.

the society of *Priests of the oratory* also sprung up. They derive their name from the oratory or cabinet of devotion, which St. Philip Neri, their founder, built at Florence, for himself and the companions of his studies. It is but justice to remark, that this order has been adorned by Baronius, Raynaldus, Laderchius, and many others respectable for their literary worth.

The zeal for reformation was not in this century confined to the male sex. St. Theresa, a Spanish lady of illustrious birth, in conjunction with Johannes Santa Crusa, made some zealous efforts for the improvement of the *Carmelites*. Her self-denying discipline not being however equally relished by the rest of the order, proved only a perpetual source of discord and uneasiness. The more austere part of the society was therefore separated from the others in 1580, and formed into a distinct order, under the name of the *bare-footed Carmelites*.

C H A P. III.

OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

P A R T I.

Indigence of the Papal Treasury—Sale of Indulgences—Tetzel—Luther—Opposes Tetzel in the Publication of Indulgences—Supported by the Augustin Monks, and the Elector of Saxony—Contest with Eccius, &c.—At first disregarded by Leo—Afterwards summoned to Rome—Appears before Cardinal Cajetan—Appeals to a General Council—Zuinglius begins the Reformation in Switzerland—Luther excommunicated—Burns the Papal Bull—Views of the Emperor with regard to Luther—Luther summoned to the Diet at Worms—Edict against him—Seized and concealed at Wartburgh—Controversy with the University of Paris and Henry VIII. of England—Translates the Bible—Character of Adrian VI.—List of Grievances presented by the Diet of Nuremburgh—Clement VII.—Marriage of Luther—Reformation in Prussia—Danger of Persecution—Contest between the Pope and the Emperor—Friends of Reformation distinguished by the Name of Protestants—Confession of Augsburg—League of Smalkalde—Ambition of the Emperor—Negotiations of the Protestants with France and England—

*England—Treaty with the Emperor at Nuremberg—
Death of the Elector of Saxony.*

TO overturn a system of religious belief founded on ancient and deep-rooted prejudices, supported by power, and defended with no less art than industry; to establish in its room doctrines of the most contrary genius and tendency; and to accomplish all this, not by external violence or the force of arms; are operations which historians, the least prone to credulity and superstition, ascribe to that Divine Providence which, with infinite ease, can effect designs which to human sagacity appear impossible. The interposition of Heaven, in favour of the Christian religion at its first publication, was manifested by miracles and prophecies wrought and uttered in confirmation of it. Though none of the reformers possessed, or pretended to possess, these supernatural gifts, yet that wonderful preparation of circumstances which disposed the minds of men for receiving their doctrines, that singular combination of causes which secured their success, and enabled men destitute of power and of policy to triumph over those who employed against them extraordinary efforts of both, may be considered as no slight proof that the same hand, which planted the Christian religion, protected the reformed faith, and reared it, from beginnings extremely feeble, to an amazing degree of strength and maturity.

It was from causes seemingly fortuitous, and

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from a source very inconsiderable, that all the mighty effects of the Reformation flowed. Leo. X. when raised to the papal throne, found the revenues of the Church exhausted by the vast projects of his two ambitious predecessors. His own temper, naturally liberal and enterprising, rendered him incapable of severe and patient economy, and his schemes for aggrandizing the family of Medicis, his love of splendor, and his munificence in rewarding men of genius, involved him daily in new expences; in order to provide a fund for which, he tried every device that the fertile invention of priests had fallen upon, to drain the credulous multitude of their wealth. Among others, he had recourse to a sale of indulgences.

The right of promulgating these indulgences in Germany, together with a share in the profits arising from the sale of them, was granted to Albert, elector of Metz and archbishop of Magdeburg, who, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed Tetzel, a Dominican friar, of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and though, by magnifying excessively the benefit of their indulgences, and by disposing of them at a very low price, they carried on for some time an extensive and lucrative traffic among the credulous and the ignorant; the extravagance

vagance of their assertions, as well as the irregularities in their conduct, came at last to give general offence. The princes and nobles were irritated at seeing their vassals drained of so much wealth, in order to replenish the treasury of a profuse pontiff; and men of piety regretted the delusion of the people. Even the most unthinking were shocked at the scandalous behaviour of Tetzels and his associates, who often squandered in drunkenness, gaming, and low debauchery, those sums which were piously bestowed in hopes of eternal happiness; and all began to wish that some check was given to this commerce, no less detrimental to society than destructive to religion.

Such was the favourable juncture, when Martin Luther first began to question the efficacy of indulgences, and to declaim against the vicious lives and false doctrines of the persons employed in promulgating them. Luther was a native of Eisleben in Saxony, and, though born of poor parents, had received a learned education, during the progress of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteness of genius. As his mind was naturally susceptible of serious impressions, and tinged with somewhat of that religious melancholy which delights in the solitude and devotion of a monastic life, he retired into a convent of Augustin friars, and assumed the habit of that order. He soon acquired great reputation for his piety, his love of knowledge, and his unwearied applica-

tion to study. He had been taught the scholastic philosophy and theology which were then in vogue, and wanted not penetration to comprehend all the niceties and distinctions with which they abound ; but his understanding, naturally sound, soon became disgusted with those subtle and uninformative sciences, and sought for some more solid foundation of knowledge and of piety in the holy scriptures. Having found a copy of the bible, which lay neglected in the library of his monastery, he devoted himself to the study of it, with such eagerness and assiduity as astonished the monks, who were little accustomed to derive their theological notions from that source. The great progress which he made in this uncommon course of study, augmented so much the fame both of his sanctity and of his learning, that Frederic, elector of Saxony, having founded an university at Wittenberg on the Elbe, the place of his residence, Luther was chosen first to teach philosophy, and afterwards theology there ; and was deemed the chief ornament of that society.

While Luther was at the height of his reputation and authority, Tetzel began to publish indulgences in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg. As Saxony was not more enlightened than the other provinces of Germany, Tetzel met with prodigious success. It was with the utmost concern that Luther beheld the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought indulgences. His
warm

warm and impetuous temper did not suffer him long to conceal his opinions, or to continue a silent spectator of the delusion of his countrymen. From the pulpit in the great church at Wittemberg, he inveighed bitterly against the irregularities and vices of the monks who published indulgences; he ventured to examine the doctrines which they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for salvation upon any other means than those appointed by God in his word. The boldness and novelty of these opinions drew great attention, and being recommended by the authority of Luther's personal character, and delivered with a popular and persuasive eloquence, they made a deep impression on his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines, he wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz and archbishop of Magdeburg, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and remonstrated warmly against the false opinions, as well as wicked lives of the preachers of indulgences; but he found that prelate too deeply interested in their success to correct their abuses. His next attempt was to gain the suffrage of men of learning. For this purpose he published ninety-five theses, containing his sentiments with regard to indulgences. These he proposed, not as points fully established, or of undoubted certainty, but as subjects of inquiry and disputation; he appointed a day, on which the

learned were invited to impugn them, either in person or by writing; to the whole he subjoined solemn protestations of his high respect for the apostolic see, and of his implicit submission to its authority. No opponent appeared at the time prefixed; the theses spread over Germany with astonishing rapidity; they were read with the greatest eagerness; and all admired the boldness of the man, who had ventured, not only to call in question the plenitude of papal power, but to attack the Dominicans, armed with all the terrors of inquisitorial authority*.

The friars of St. Augustine, Luther's own order, gave no check to the publication of these uncommon opinions. Luther had, by his piety and learning, acquired extraordinary authority among his brethren; he professed the highest regard for the authority of the pope; his professions were at that time sincere; and as a secret enmity subsists among all the monastic orders of the Romish church, the Augustins were highly pleased with his invectives against the Dominicans, and hoped to see them exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people. His sovereign, the elector of Saxony, the wisest prince at that time in Germany, secretly encouraged his attempts, and flattered himself that this dispute

* *Lutheri Opera*, Jenæ, 1612, vol. i. præfat. 3. p. 2. 66. *Hist. of Council of Trent* by F. Paul, p. 4. *Seckend. Com. Apol.* p. 16.

among

among the ecclesiastics themselves might give some check to the exactions of the court of Rome, which the secular princes had long, though without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

Several theses appeared in opposition to the ninety-five published by Luther, and the arguments produced for his confutation were the sentiments of schoolmen, the conclusions of the canon law, and the decrees of popes*. The decisions of judges so partial and interested, did not satisfy the people, who began to call in question the authority even of these venerable guides, when they found them standing in direct opposition to the dictates of reason, and the determinations of the divine law†.

Meanwhile these novelties in Luther's doctrines, which interested all Germany, excited little attention and no alarm in the court of Rome. Leo, fond of elegant and refined pleasures, intent upon great schemes of policy, a stranger to theological controversies, and apt to despise them, regarded with the utmost indifference the operations of an obscure friar, who, in the heart of Germany, carried on a scholastic disputation in a barbarous style. Leo imputed the whole to monastic enmity and emulation, and seemed inclined not to interpose in the contest, but to allow the Augustins and Domi-

* F. Paul, p. 6. Seckend. p. 40. Palavic. p. 8.

† Seckend. p. 30.

nicans to wrangle about the matter with their usual animosity.

The solicitations however of Luther's adversaries, together with the surprising progress which his opinions made in different parts of Germany, roused at last the attention of the court of Rome, and obliged Leo to take measures for the security of the church against an attack that now appeared too serious to be despised. For this end he summoned Luther to appear at Rome, within sixty days, before the auditor of the chamber, and the inquisitor-general, Prierias, who had written against him, whom he empowered jointly to examine his doctrines, and to decide concerning them. He wrote, at the same time, to the elector of Saxony, beseeching him not to protect a man whose heretical and prophane tenets were so shocking to pious ears; and enjoined the provincial of the Augustins to check by his authority the rashness of an arrogant monk, which brought disgrace upon the order of St. Augustine, and gave offence and disturbance to the whole church.

From the strain of these letters, as well as from the nomination of a judge so prejudiced and partial as Prierias, Luther easily saw what sentence he might expect at Rome. He discovered, for that reason, the utmost solicitude to have his cause tried in Germany, and before a less suspected tribunal. The professors in the university of Wittemberg, anxious for his safety, wrote to the pope, and, after employing

employing several pretexts to excuse Luther from appearing at Rome, entreated Leo to commit the examination of his doctrines to some persons of learning and authority in Germany. The elector requested the same thing of the pope's legate at the diet of Augsbourg ; and as Luther himself, who at that time did not even entertain the smallest suspicion concerning the divine original of papal authority, had written to Leo a submissive letter, promising an unreserved compliance with his will, the pope gratified them so far as to empower his legate in Germany, cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and passionately devoted to the Roman see, to hear and determine the cause.

Luther, having obtained the emperor's safe-conduct, immediately repaired to Augsbourg. The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured at first to gain upon him by gentle treatment : but thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute with a person of such inferior rank, he required him, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was clothed, to retract his errors with regard to indulgences and the nature of faith ; and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, fully persuaded of the truth of his own tenets, and confirmed in the belief of them by the approbation which they had met with among persons conspicuous both for learning
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ing and piety, was surprised at this abrupt mention of a recantation, before any endeavours were used to convince him that he was mistaken. He had flattered himself that, in a conference concerning the points in dispute, with a prelate of such distinguished abilities, he should be able to remove many of those imputations with which the ignorance or malice of his antagonists had loaded him; but the high tone of authority that the cardinal assumed extinguished at once all hopes of this kind, and cut off every prospect of advantage from the interview. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not desert him. He declared with the utmost firmness, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; nor should any consideration ever induce him to do what would be so base in itself, and so offensive to God. At the same time, he continued to express no less reverence than formerly for the authority of the apostolic see *; he signified his willingness to submit the whole controversy to certain universities which he named, and promised neither to write nor to preach concerning indulgences for the future, provided his adversaries were likewise enjoined to be silent with respect to them †. All these offers Cajetan disregarded or rejected, and still insisted peremptorily on a simple recantation, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures, and forbidding him to appear again in his presence, un-

* Luth. Oper. vol. i. p. 164.

† Ibid. p. 169.

less he resolved instantly to comply with what he had required. This haughty and violent proceeding, as well as other circumstances, gave Luther's friends such strong reasons to suspect that even the imperial safe-conduct would not be able to protect him from the legate's power and resentment, that they prevailed on him to withdraw secretly from Augsburg, and to return to his own country. But before his departure, he prepared a solemn appeal from the legate, ill-informed at that time concerning his cause, to the pope, who indeed ought not to have committed a cause of this importance to an inferior agent *,

Cajetan, enraged at Luther's abrupt retreat, and at the publication of his appeal, wrote to the elector of Saxony, complaining of both ; and requiring him as he regarded the peace of the church, or the authority of its head, either to send that seditious monk a prisoner to Rome, or to banish him out of his territories. It was not from theological considerations that Frederic had hitherto countenanced Luther. His protection flowed almost entirely from political motives, and was afforded with great secrecy and caution. He had neither heard any of Luther's discourses, nor read any of his books ; and though all Germany resounded with his fame, he had never once admitted him into his presence †. But upon this de-

* Sleid. Hist. of Reform. p. 7. Seckend. p. 45. Luth. Oper. i. 163.

† Seckend. p. 27. Sleid. Hist. p. 12.

mand which the cardinal made, it became necessary to throw off somewhat of his former reserve. He had been at great expence, and had bestowed much attention on founding a new university, an object of considerable importance to every German prince; and foreseeing how fatal a blow the removal of Luther would be to its reputation*, he, under various pretexts, and with many professions of esteem for the cardinal, as well as of reverence for the pope, not only declined complying with either of his requests, but openly discovered great concern for Luther's safety†.

The inflexible rigour, with which Cajetan insisted on a simple recantation, gave great offence to Luther's followers in that age. But it was impossible for the legate to act another part. The judges before whom Luther had been required to appear at Rome, without waiting for the expiration of the sixty days allowed him in the citation, had already condemned him as an heretic‡. Leo had, in several of his briefs and letters, stigmatized him as a child of iniquity, and a man given up to a reprobate sense. Nothing less, therefore, than a recantation could save the honour of the church, whose maxim it is, never to abandon the smallest point that it has established, and which is even precluded, by its pretensions to infallibility, from having it in its power to do so.

* Seckend. p. 59. † Sleid. Hist. p. 10. Luth. Oper. i. 172.

‡ Luth. Oper. i. 161.

In this situation, Luther discovered no symptoms of timidity or remissness, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions, and to inveigh against those of his adversaries with more vehemence than ever *.

As every step, however, which was taken by the court of Rome, convinced Luther that Leo would soon proceed to the most violent measures against him, he had recourse to the only expedient in his power, in order to prevent the effect of the papal censures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the representative of the catholic church, and superior in power to the pope, who, being a fallible man, might err, as St. Peter, the most perfect of his predecessors, had erred †.

It soon appeared, that Luther had not formed rash conjectures concerning the intentions of the Romish church. A bull, of a date prior to his appeal, was issued by the pope, in which he magnified the virtue and efficacy of indulgences; he required all Christians to assent to what he delivered as the doctrine of the catholic church; and subjected those, who should hold or teach any contrary opinion, to the heaviest ecclesiastical censures.

Among Luther's followers, this bull, which they considered as an unjustifiable effort of the pope in order to preserve that rich branch of his revenue which arose from indulgences, produced little ef-

* Seckend. p. 59.

† Sleid. Hist. 12. Luth. Oper. i. 179.

fect. But among the rest of his countrymen, such a clear decision of the sovereign pontiff against him, and enforced by such dreadful penalties, must have been attended with consequences very fatal to his cause, if these had not been prevented, in a great measure, by the death of the emperor Maximilian, whom both his principles and his interest prompted to support the authority of the holy see. In consequence of this event, the vicariat of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws devolved to the elector of Saxony; and under the shelter of his friendly administration, Luther not only enjoyed tranquillity, but his opinions were suffered, during the inter-regnum which preceded the election, to take root in different places, and to grow up to some degree of strength and firmness. At the same time, as the election of an emperor was a point more interesting to Leo than a theological controversy which he did not understand, and of which he could not foresee the consequences, he was so extremely solicitous not to irritate a prince of such considerable influence in the electoral college as Frederic, that he discovered a great unwillingness to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against Luther, which his adversaries demanded with the most clamorous importunity.

To these political views of the pope, as well as to his natural aversion to severe measures, was owing the suspension of any further proceedings

against Luther for eighteen months. Perpetual negotiations, however, in order to bring the matter to some amicable issue, were carried on during that space. The manner in which these were conducted, having given Luther many opportunities of observing the corruption of the court of Rome, he began to utter some doubts with regard to the divine original of the papal authority. A public disputation was held upon this important question at *Leipfic*, between Luther and *Eccius*, one of his most learned and formidable antagonists; but it was as fruitless and indecisive as such scholastic combats usually prove*.

Nor did this spirit of opposition to the doctrines and usurpations of the Romish church break out in Saxony alone; an attack no less violent, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them about this time in Switzerland. The Franciscans being entrusted with the promulgation of indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same indiscretion and rapaciousness, which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Germany. They proceeded nevertheless with uninterrupted success till they arrived at *Zurich*. There *Zuinglius*, a man not inferior to Luther in zeal and intrepidity, ventured to oppose them; and being animated with a republican boldness, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established re-

* *Luth. Oper. i. 199.*

ligion *. The appearance of such a vigorous auxiliary, and the progress which he made, was at first matter of great joy to Luther. On the other hand, the decrees of the universities of Cologne and Louvaine, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous, afforded great cause of triumph to his adversaries.

But the undaunted spirit of Luther acquired additional fortitude from every instance of opposition; and he began to shake the firmest foundations on which the wealth or power of the church were established. Leo came at last to be convinced, that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were vain; several prelates of great wisdom exclaimed no less than Luther's personal adversaries, against the pope's unprecedented lenity; the dignity of the papal see rendered the most vigorous proceedings necessary; the new emperor, it was hoped, would support its authority; nor did it seem probable that the elector of Saxony would so far forget his usual caution, as to set himself in opposition to their united power. The college of cardinals was often assembled in order to prepare the sentence with due deliberation, and the ablest canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with unexceptionable formality. At last, on the 15th of June, 1520, the bull, so fatal to the church of Rome, was issued. Forty-one propositions, extracted out of Luther's

* Sleid. Hist. 22. Seckend. 59.

works, are therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears; all persons are forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication; such as had any of them in their custody are commanded to commit them to the flames; he himself, if he did not, within sixty days, publicly recant his errors, and burn his books, is pronounced an obstinate heretic; is excommunicated, and delivered unto Satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular princes are required, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved*.

The publication of this bull in Germany excited various passions in different places. Luther's adversaries exulted; his followers read Leo's anathemas with more indignation than terror. In some cities, the people violently obstructed the promulgation of the bull; in others, the persons who attempted to publish it were insulted, and the bull itself torn in pieces, and trodden under foot†.

This sentence, which he had for some time expected, did not disconcert or intimidate Luther. After renewing his appeal to the general council, he published remarks upon the bull of excommunication; and being now persuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injustice in his proceedings against him, he boldly declared the

* Palavic. 27. Luth. Oper. i. 423.

† Seckend. p. 116.

pope to be that man of sin, or antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the New Testament ; he declaimed against his tyranny and usurpations with greater violence than ever ; he exhorted all Christian princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke ; and boasted of his own happiness in being marked out as the object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert the liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his expressions of contempt for the papal power to words alone ; Leo having, in execution of the bull, appointed Luther's books to be burnt at Rome, he, by way of retaliation, assembled all the professors and students in the university of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, in presence of a vast multitude of spectators, cast the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excommunication, into the flames ; and his example was imitated in several cities in Germany. The manner in which he justified this action, was still more offensive than the action itself. Having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the plenitude and omnipotence of the papal power, as well as the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to the authority of the holy see, he published these with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil government *.

After the death of Maximilian I. his grandson,

* Luth. Oper. ii. 316.

CENT. 16.] *Summoned before the Diet at Worms.* 307

Charles V. king of Spain, succeeded him in the empire, in the year 1519. Leo X. seized this occasion of putting the emperor in mind of his character as advocate and defender of the church, and demanding the exemplary punishment of Luther, who had rebelled against its sacred laws.

The vast and dangerous schemes which Francis I. king of France was forming against Charles, made it necessary for him to secure the friendship of the pope, and determined him to treat Luther with great severity, as the most effectual method of soothing Leo into a concurrence with his measures. His eagerness to accomplish this rendered him not unwilling to gratify the papal legates in Germany, who insisted that, without any delay or formal deliberation, the diet, which was assembled at Worms, ought to condemn a man whom the pope had already excommunicated as an incorrigible heretic. Such an abrupt manner of proceeding, however, being deemed unprecedented and unjust by the members of the diet, they made a point of Luther's appearing in person, and declaring whether he adhered or not to those opinions which had drawn upon him the censures of the church *. Not only the emperor, but all the princes through whose territories he had to pass, granted him a safe-conduct; and Charles wrote to him at the same time, requiring his immediate attendance on the diet, and renewing his

* P. Mart. Ep. 722.

promises of protection from any injury or violence *. Luther did not hesitate one moment about yielding obedience, and set out for Worms, attended by the herald who had brought the emperor's letter and safe-conduct. While on his journey, many of his friends, whom the fate of Huss under similar circumstances, and notwithstanding the same security of an imperial safe-conduct, filled with solicitude, advised and intreated him not to rush wantonly into the midst of danger. But Luther, superior to such terrors, silenced them with this reply, "I am lawfully called," said he, "to appear in that city, and thither will I go in the name of the Lord, though as many devils, as there are tiles on the houses, were there combined against me †."

The reception he met with at Worms was such as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labours, if vanity and the love of applause had been the principles by which he was influenced. Greater crowds assembled to behold him, than had appeared at the emperor's public entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank ‡, and he was treated with all the respect paid to those who possess the power of directing the understanding and sentiments of other men; an homage, more sincere, as

* Luth. Oper. ii. 411.

† Luth. Oper. ii. 412.

‡ Seckend. 156. Luth. Oper. ii. 414.

well as more flattering, than any which pre-eminence in birth or condition can command. At his appearance before the diet, he behaved with great decency and firmness. He readily acknowledged an excess of vehemence and acrimony in his controversial writings, but refused to retract his opinions, unless he were convinced of their falsehood; or to consent to their being tried by any other rule than the word of God. When neither threats nor intreaties could prevail on him to depart from this resolution, some of the ecclesiastics proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance, and, by punishing the author of this pestilent heresy, who was now in their power, to deliver the church at once from such an evil. This was opposed both by the members of the diet and by the emperor, and Luther was permitted to depart in safety*. A few days after he left the city, a severe edict was published in the emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, depriving him, as an obstinate and excommunicated criminal, of all the privileges which he enjoyed as a subject of the empire, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and requiring all to concur in seizing his person, as soon as the term specified in his safe-conduct was expired†.

But this rigorous decree had no considerable effect, the execution of it being prevented, partly by

* F. Paul. Hist. of Counc. p. 13. Seckend. 160.

† Gold. Const. Imperial. ii. 408.

the multiplicity of occupations which the commotions in Spain, together with the wars in Italy and the Low Countries, created to the emperor; and partly by a prudent precaution employed by the elector of Saxony. As Luther, on his return from Worms, was passing near Altenstein in Thuringia, a number of horsemen in masks rushed suddenly out of a wood, where the elector had appointed them to lie in wait for him, and surrounding his company, carried him, after dismissing all his attendants, to Wartburg, a strong castle not far distant. There the elector ordered him to be supplied with every thing necessary or agreeable, but the place of his retreat was carefully concealed; until the fury of the present storm against him began to abate. In this solitude he remained nine months, and exerted his usual vigour and industry in defence of his doctrines, or in confutation of his adversaries, publishing several treatises, which revived the drooping spirits of his followers.

During his confinement, his opinions continued to gain ground in every city in Saxony; and, the Augustins of Wittemberg, with the approbation of the university, and the connivance of the elector, ventured upon the first step towards an alteration in the established forms of public worship, by abolishing the celebration of private masses, and by giving the cup as well as the bread to the laity in administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

During his retirement in Wartburg, Luther re-

ceived the intelligence that a solemn decree condemning his opinions had been published by the university of Paris, and that Henry VIII. of England had written a treatise on the Seven Sacraments, in confutation of his opinions. Luther, who was not overawed, either by the authority of the university, or the dignity of the monarch, soon published his animadversions on both, in a style no less vehement and severe than he would have used in confuting his meanest antagonist. A controversy, managed by disputants so illustrious, drew more general attention; and the doctrines of the reformers, in spite both of the civil and ecclesiastical powers combined against them, daily gained converts both in France and in England.

Luther was drawn from his retreat by the imprudence of *Carlostadius*, one of his disciples, who, animated with the same zeal, but possessed of less moderation, propagated wild and dangerous opinions, chiefly among the lower people. Encouraged by his exhortations, they rose in several villages of Saxony, broke into the churches with tumultuary violence, and destroyed the images with which they were adorned. Those irregular and outrageous proceedings were so repugnant to all the elector's cautious maxims, that, if they had not received a timely check, they could hardly have failed of alienating from the reformers a prince, no less jealous of his own authority, than afraid of giving offence to the emperor, and other

patrons of the ancient opinions. Luther, sensible of the danger, without waiting for Frederic's permission, returned to Wittenberg. Happily for the reformation, the veneration for his person and authority were still so great, that his appearance alone suppressed that spirit of extravagance which began to seize his party. Carlostadius and his fanatical followers, struck dumb by his rebukes, submitted at once, and declared that they heard the voice of an angel, not of a man*.

Before Luther left his retreat, he had begun to translate the bible into the German tongue, an undertaking for which he was well qualified: he had a competent knowledge in the original languages, a thorough acquaintance with the style and sentiments of the inspired writers; and though his compositions in Latin were rude and barbarous, he was reckoned a great master of the purity of his mother tongue. By his own assiduous application, together with the assistance of Melancthon, and several other of his disciples, he finished part of the New Testament in the year 1522. It was read with wonderful avidity and attention by persons of every rank. They were astonished at discovering how contrary the precepts of the author of our religion are to the inventions of those priests who pretended to be his vicegerents; and having now in their hand the rule of faith, they thought themselves qualified, by applying it, to

* Sleid. Hist. 51. Seckend. 195.

judge of the established opinions, and to pronounce when they were conformable to the standard, or when they departed from it. The great advantages arising from Luther's translation of the bible encouraged the advocates for reformation, in the other countries of Europe, to imitate his example, and to publish versions of the scriptures in their respective languages.

About this time, Nuremberg, Francfort, Hamburg, and several other cities in Germany, of the first rank, openly embraced the reformed religion, and by the authority of their magistrates abolished the mass, and the other superstitious rites of popery*. The Dukes of Brunswic and Lunenburgh, the Prince of Anhalt, and other distinguished personages, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them among their subjects.

Leo X, had been succeeded in the pontificate by Adrian VI. a native of Utrecht, and a man of some probity and candour. He could not, however, behold this growing defection without concern; and his first care, after his arrival in Italy, had been to deliberate with the cardinals, concerning the proper means of putting a stop to it. He was profoundly skilled in scholastic theology, and having been early noticed on that account, he still retained such an excessive admiration of the

* Seckend. 241. Chytræi Contin. Krantzii, 203.

science to which he was first indebted for his reputation and success in life, that he considered Luther's invectives against the schoolmen, particularly Thomas Aquinas, as little less than blasphemy. At the same time his own manners being extremely simple, and uninfected with any of the vices which reigned in the court of Rome, he was as sensible of its corruptions as the reformers themselves, and viewed them with no less indignation. The brief which he addressed to the diet of the empire assembled at Nuremberg, November, 1522, and the instructions which he gave to Cheregato, the nuncio whom he sent thither, were framed agreeably to these views. On the one hand, he condemned Luther's opinions with more asperity than Leo had ever used; he severely censured the princes of Germany for suffering him to spread his pernicious tenets, by their neglecting to execute the edict of the diet at Worms, and required them, if Luther did not instantly retract his errors, to destroy him with fire as a gangrened and incurable member*. On the other hand, he, with great candour, acknowledged the corruptions of the Roman court to be the source from which had flowed most of the evils the church now felt or dreaded; he promised to exert all his authority towards reforming these abuses; and he requested of them to give him their advice with regard to

* Fascic. Rer. expet. & fugiend. 342.

the most effectual means of suppressing that new heresy which had sprung up among them*.

The members of the diet, after praising the pope's pious and laudable intentions, excused themselves for not executing the edict of Worms, by alleging that the prodigious increase of Luther's followers, as well as the aversion to the court of Rome among their other subjects, on account of its innumerable exactions, rendered such an attempt not only dangerous, but impossible. They affirmed that the grievances of Germany, which arose from impositions no less real than intolerable, called now for some new and efficacious remedy; and, in their opinion, the only remedy, which afforded them any hopes of seeing the church restored to soundness and vigour, was a general council. Such a council, therefore, they advised him, after obtaining the emperor's consent, to assemble without delay, in one of the great cities of Germany†.

The nuncio, more artful than his master, was startled at the proposition of a council; and easily foresaw how dangerous such an assembly might prove, at a time when many openly denied the papal authority, and the reverence and submission yielded to it visibly declined among all. For that reason he employed his utmost address, in order to prevail on the members of the diet to proceed

* Fascic. Rer. expet. & fugiend. p. 345.

† Ibid. p. 346.

themselves with greater severity against the Lutheran heresy, and to relinquish their proposal concerning a general council to be held in Germany. They, perceiving the nuncio to be more solicitous about the interests of the Roman court, than the tranquillity of the empire, or purity of the church, remained inflexible, and continued to prepare the catalogue of their grievances to be presented to the pope *. The nuncio, that he might not be the bearer of a remonstrance so disagreeable to his court, left Nuremberg abruptly, without taking leave of the diet †.

The secular princes accordingly drew up the list (so famous in the German annals) of an hundred grievances, which the empire imputed to the iniquitous dominion of the papal see. They complained of the sums exacted for dispensations, absolutions, and indulgences; of the expence arising from the law-suits carried by appeal to Rome; of the innumerable abuses occasioned by reservations, commendams, and annates; of the exemption from civil jurisdiction which the clergy had obtained; of the arts by which they brought all secular causes under the cognisance of the ecclesiastical judges; of the indecent and profligate lives which not a few of the clergy led; and of various other particulars. In the end they concluded, that, if the holy see did not speedily deliver

* Fascic. Rer. expet. & fugiend. p. 349.

† Ibid. 376.

them from those intolerable burdens, they would employ the power and authority with which God had entrusted them, in order to procure relief*.

Instead of such severities against Luther and his followers as the nuncio had recommended, the *recess* or edict of the diet contained only a general injunction to all ranks of men to wait with patience for the determinations of the council which was to be assembled, and in the mean time not to publish any new opinions contrary to the established doctrines of the church; together with an admonition to all preachers to abstain from matters of controversy in their discourses to the people, and confine themselves to the plain and instructive truths of religion †.

While these affairs were in agitation pope Adrian died, and was succeeded on the 23d of Nov. 1523, by the cardinal de Medicis, who assumed the name of Clement VII. This pontiff excelled Adrian as much in the arts of government, as he was inferior to him in purity of life and uprightness of intention. Having gained his election by very uncanonical means, he was afraid of an assembly that might subject it to a scrutiny which it could not stand, and determined therefore to elude the demands of the Germans, both with respect to the calling of a council, and reforming abuses in the papal court. For this purpose, he made choice of

* Fascic. Rer. expet. & fugiend. 354.

Ibid. 348.

cardinal Campeggio, an artful man, as his nuncio to the diet of the empire, assembled again at Nuremberg.

Campeggio, without taking notice of what had passed in the last meeting, exhorted the diet to execute the edict of Worms with vigour, as the only effectual means of suppressing Luther's doctrines. The diet, in return, desired to know the pope's intentions concerning the council and the redress of the hundred grievances. The former, the nuncio endeavoured to elude by general declarations of the pope's resolution to pursue such measures as would be for the greatest good of the church. With regard to the latter, as Adrian was dead before the catalogue of grievances reached Rome, and as of consequence it had not been regularly laid before the present pope, Campeggio declined making any definitive answer to them in Clement's name; though, at the same time, he observed that their catalogue of grievances contained many particulars extremely indecent and undutiful, and that the publishing it by their own authority was highly disrespectful to the Roman see. In the end, he renewed his demand of their proceeding with vigour against Luther and his adherents. But though an ambassador from the emperor, who was at that time very solicitous to gain the pope, warmly seconded the nuncio, with many professions of his master's zeal for the honour and dignity of the papal see, the *recess* of the diet was conceived in terms
of

of almost the same import with the former, without enjoining any additional severity against Luther and his party*.

Before he left Germany, Campeggio, in order to soothe the people, published certain articles for the amendment of some disorders and abuses which prevailed among the inferior clergy; but this partial reformation, which fell so far short of the expectations of the Lutherans, gave no satisfaction, and produced little effect †.

The marriage of Luther in the year 1526, with Catharine Boria, a nun of a noble family who had fled from the cloister, was far from meeting with general approbation. Even his most devoted followers thought this step indecent, at a time when his country was involved in so many calamities; while his enemies never mentioned it with any softer appellation than that of incestuous or profane. Luther himself was sensible of the impression which it had made to his disadvantage; but being satisfied with his own conduct, he bore the censure of his friends, and the reproaches of his adversaries, with his usual fortitude ‡.

This year the reformation lost its first protector, Frederic, elector of Saxony; but the blow was the less sensibly felt, as he was succeeded by his brother John, a more avowed and zealous, though a less able patron of Luther and his doctrines.

* Seckend. 286. Sleid. Hist. 66.

† Seckend. 292.

‡ Ibid. lib. ii. p. 15.

Another event happened about the same time, which occasioned a considerable change in the state of Germany. The Teutonic order being driven from their settlements in the east, had been obliged to return to their native country. Their zeal and valour were too impetuous to remain long inactive. They invaded, as was already intimated, the province of Prussia, the inhabitants of which were still idolaters; and having completed the conquest of it, held it many years as a fief depending on the crown of Poland. Fierce contests arose during this period, between the grand masters of the order, and the kings of Poland. Albert, a prince of the house of Brandenburg, who was elected grand master in the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, engaging keenly in this quarrel, maintained a long war with Sigismund, king of Poland; but having become an early convert to Luther's doctrines, this gradually lessened his zeal for the interests of his fraternity, so that he took the opportunity of the confusions in the empire, and the absence of the emperor, to conclude a treaty with Sigismund, greatly to his own private emolument. By it, that part of Prussia, which belonged to the Teutonic order, was erected into a secular and hereditary duchy, and the investiture of it granted to Albert, who, in return, bound himself to do homage for it to the kings of Poland as their vassal. Immediately after this, he made public profession of the reformed religion, and married a princess of Denmark.

In this state of affairs, the patrons of popery projected a war against the Lutherans, who in their turn prepared for defence. In the mean time the diet, assembled at Spire in the year 1526, at which Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, presided, ended in a manner more favourable to the friends of the reformation, than they could naturally expect. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest endeavours for the suppression of all farther disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence which had been pronounced at Worms against Luther and his followers. The greater part of the German princes resolutely opposed this motion, declaring, that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognisance of a general council lawfully assembled; alleging that the decisions of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a great majority, and, at length, consented to by the whole assembly; when it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and general council; and it was also agreed, that, in the mean time, the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at

liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think the most expedient; yet so as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of them.

Nothing could be more favourable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. The emperor was, at this time, so entirely engaged in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in France, Spain, and Italy, as rendered it impossible for him to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular. He was besides little disposed to favour the pope, who, after the defeat of Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, filled with uneasy apprehensions of the growing power of the emperor in Italy, had entered into a confederacy with the French and the Venetians against Charles V. This imprudent measure, therefore, inflamed the resentment and indignation of Charles to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in Italy, laid siege to Rome in the year 1527, blocked up Clement in the Castle of St. Angelo, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment. These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the diet at Spire, were prudently and industriously improved by the friends of the reformation to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number.

Several princes, being delivered now from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of Rome, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, which had been received in Saxony. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman pontiff, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke. In the mean time Luther and his fellow-labourers, particularly those who were with him at Wittemberg, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions and councils, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

But this tranquillity was not of long duration. It was interrupted by a new diet, assembled in the year 1529, in the same place by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of Europe, and concluded a treaty of peace with Clement VII. The power which had been granted by the former diet to every prince, of managing ecclesiastical matters as they thought proper, until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked

by a majority of votes; and every change was declared unlawful, which should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship, of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known.

The elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Lunenburgh, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities *, entered a solemn protest against this decree, as unjust and impious. On that account they were distinguished by the name of PROTESTANTS †, an appellation which has since been applied indiscriminately to all the sects, of whatever denomination, which have revolted from the Roman see. The Protestants next sent ambassadors into Italy, to lay their grievances before the emperor, from whom they met with the most discouraging reception. Charles was at that time in close union with the pope, and solicitous to attach him inviolably to his interest. During their long residence at Bologna, they held many consultations concerning the most effectual means of extirpating the heresies which had sprung up in Germany. Clement employed every argument to dissuade the emperor from consenting to the measure of a general

* The fourteen cities were Strasburgh, Nuremburgh, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Winsheim, Meinengen, Lindaw, Kempten, Hailbron, Hna, Weissemburgh, Nordlingen, and St. Gal.

† Sleid. Hist. 119. F. Paul. Hist. p. 45. Seckend. ii. 127.

council. He urged that Leo's sentence of excommunication, together with the decree of the diet at Worms, should be carried into execution, and that it was incumbent on the emperor to employ his whole power, in order to overawe those, on whom the reverence due either to ecclesiastical or civil authority had no longer any influence. Charles, whose views were different, and who became daily more sensible how obstinate and deep-rooted the evil was, thought of reconciling the Protestants by means less violent, and considered the convocation of a council as no improper expedient for that purpose; but promised, if gentler arts failed of success, that then he would exert himself with rigour to reduce to the obedience of the holy see those stubborn enemies of the catholic faith *.

Such were the sentiments with which the emperor set out for Germany, having already appointed a diet of the empire to be held at Augsburg. In his journey towards that city, he had many opportunities of observing the disposition of the Germans with regard to the points in controversy, and found their minds every where so much irritated and inflamed, as convinced him, that nothing tending to severity or rigour ought to be attempted, until all other measures proved ineffectual. He made his public entry into Augs-

* F. Paul, xvii. Seck. l. ii. 142. Hist. de Confess. d'Auxbourg, par D. Chytreus, 4to. Antw. 1572, p. 6.

burg with extraordinary pomp; and found there such a full assembly of the members of the diet, as was suitable both to the importance of the affairs which were to come under their consideration, and to the honour of an emperor, who, after a long absence, returned to them crowned with reputation and success. His presence seems to have communicated to all parties an unusual spirit of moderation and desire of peace. The elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to the diet, lest he should offend the emperor by bringing into his presence a person excommunicated by the pope, and who had been the author of all those dissensions which it now appeared so difficult to compose. At the emperor's desire, all the Protestant princes forbade the divines who accompanied them, to preach in public during their residence at Augsburg. For the same reason they employed the gentle and pacific Melancthon, to draw up a confession of their faith, expressed in terms as little offensive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard for truth would permit. Melancthon executed a task so agreeable to his natural disposition, with great moderation and address. The creed which he composed, known by the name of the *Confession of Augsburg*, from the place where it was presented, was read publicly in the diet. A controversy ensued between the reformed and popish divines; but, notwithstanding the interference of the emperor to reconcile the contending parties, such insuperable barriers

barriers were placed between the two churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition seemed utterly desperate*. The endeavours of Charles amongst the princes were equally unproductive of success. Such was the excess of their zeal, that it overcame all attachment to their political interest, which is commonly the predominant motive among princes. The chiefs of the Protestants, though solicited separately by the emperor, and allured by the promise or prospect of those advantages which it was known they were most solicitous to attain, refused, with a fortitude highly worthy of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the cause of God, for the sake of any earthly acquisition†.

Every scheme in order to gain or disunite the Protestant party proving abortive, nothing now remained for the emperor but to take some vigorous measures towards asserting the doctrines and authority of the established church. To effect this, a severe decree against the Protestants was enacted in the diet; and the utmost danger to the reformers arose on every side. Luther by his exhortations and writings revived the desponding hopes of his associates, and his exhortations made the deeper impression upon them, as they were greatly alarmed at that time by the account of a combination

* Seckend. lib. ii. 159, &c. Abr. Sculteti Annales Evangelici ap. Herm. Von der Hard. Hist. Liter. Reform. Lips. 1717, fol. p. 159.

† Skleid. 132. Scultet. Annal. 158.

among the popish princes of the empire for the maintenance of the established religion, to which Charles himself had acceded *. Convinced that their own safety, as well as the success of their cause, depended upon union, they assembled at Smalkalde, where they concluded a league of mutual defence against all aggressors †, by which they formed the protestant states of the empire into one regular body, and beginning already to consider themselves as such, they resolved to apply to the kings of France and England, and to implore them to patronize and assist their new confederacy.

An affair not connected with religion furnished them with a pretence for courting the aid of foreign princes. Charles, whose ambitious views enlarged in proportion to the increase of his power and grandeur, had formed a scheme of continuing the imperial crown in his family, by procuring his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans.

The measure was, however, by no means approved by the Protestants. Nothing had contributed more to the progress of their opinions, than the interregnum after Maximilian's death, the long absence of Charles, and the slackness of the reins of government which these occasioned. The elector of Saxony, accordingly, not only refused to be present at the electoral college, which the emperor summoned to meet at Cologne, but instructed his

* Seck. ii. 200; iii. 11. † Sleid. Hist. 142.

eldest son to appear there, and to protest against the election as informal, illegal, contrary to the articles of the golden bull, and subversive of the liberties of the empire. But the other electors, whom Charles had been at great pains to gain, without regarding either his absence or protest, chose Ferdinand king of the Romans; who a few days after was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle*.

When the Protestants, who were assembled a second time at Smalkalde, received an account of this transaction, and heard, at the same time, that prosecutions were commenced, in the imperial chamber, against some of their number, on account of their religious principles, they thought it necessary, not only to renew their former confederacy, but immediately to dispatch their ambassadors to France and England. Francis, the avowed rival of the emperor, and jealous of his reputation, without seeming to countenance their religious opinions, determined secretly to cherish those sparks of political discord; and the king of England, highly incensed against Charles, in compliance to whom, the pope had long retarded, and now openly opposed his long solicited divorce from his queen, Catharine of Arragon, was equally disposed to strengthen a league which might be rendered so formidable to the emperor. But his favourite project of the divorce led him into such

* Sleid. 142. Seck. iii. 1. P. Heuter, Rer. Austr. lib. x. c. 6, p. 240.

a labyrinth of schemes and negociations, and he was, at the same time, so intent on abolishing the papal jurisdiction in England, that he had no leisure for foreign affairs. This obliged him to rest satisfied with giving general promises, together with a small supply with money, to the confederates of Smalkalde*.

Meanwhile, many circumstances convinced Charles that this was not a juncture when the extirpation of heresy was to be attempted by violence and rigour; and that, in compliance with the pope's inclinations, he had already proceeded with imprudent precipitation. Negotiations were, therefore, carried on by his direction, with the elector of Saxony and his associates; and after many delays, terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified solemnly in the diet at Ratibon. In this treaty it was stipulated, that universal peace be established in Germany, until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which within six months the emperor shall endeavour to procure; that no person shall be molested on account of religion; that a stop shall be put to all processses begun by the imperial chamber against Protestants, and the sentences already passed to their detriment shall be declared void. On their part, the Protestants engaged to assist the emperor with all their forces in resisting the invasion of the Turks†. Thus by their firmness, by their unani-

* Herbert. 152. 154.

† Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. part ii. 87. 89.

mity,

mity, and by their dexterity in availing themselves of the emperor's situation, the Protestants obtained terms which amounted almost to a toleration of their religion ; and the Protestants of Germany, who had hitherto been viewed only as a religious sect, came henceforth to be considered as a political body of no small consequence *.

About the beginning of August in this year, 1532, the elector of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederic: the reformation, however, rather gained than lost by that event.

* Sleid. 149, &c. Seck. iii. 19.

CHAP. III.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN
GERMANY, &c.

PART II.

Gradual spread of Luther's Doctrines—In Sweden—In Denmark—France—Calvin—Reformation established in all Saxony—Council of Trent—Death and Character of Luther—Decrees of the Council of Trent—Pope excommunicates the Archbishop of Cologne—Diet at Ratisbon—War declared against the Emperor—Perfidy of Maurice—Seizes the Elector Dominions—Elector of Cologne resigns—Elector of Saxony and Landgrave made prisoners—Publication of the Interim—Obnoxious to both Parties—Violence of the Emperor—Death of Paul III. and Elevation of Julius III.—Defection of Maurice—Peace of Religion.

DURING those important transactions in Germany which have been just related, the dawn of reformation gradually arose upon other nations. Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had already broken their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome and the

the jurisdiction of its pontiff. The reformed religion was propagated in Sweden, soon after Luther's rupture with Rome, by one of his disciples. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public-spirited prince, Gustavus Vasa Ericson. But as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions, and the doctrine of Luther, Gustavus wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking, in a manner suitable to the principles of the reformation, which he regarded as diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence. The first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the scriptures, and he spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible, which had been made by Olaus Petri. After having taken every proper measure to effect his design, Gustavus, in the assembly of the states at Westeraas, recommended the doctrine of the reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that it was unanimously resolved, that the plan of reformation proposed by Luther should have free admission among the Swedes. This resolution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of Gustavus, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his sceptre and retire from his kingdom, rather

rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops*, than by the laws of the kingdom. From this time the papal empire in Sweden was entirely overturned, and Gustavus was declared the head of the church.

The reformation was also received in Denmark, as early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by Christian or Christiera II. of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrine of Luther. The kingdom of France was not inaccessible to the reformation. Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister of Francis I. the implacable enemy and perpetual rival of Charles V. was extremely favourable to the new doctrine. The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess encouraged several pious and learned men to propagate the principles of the reformation in France, and even to erect several protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest from the most authentic records, that, so early as the year 1523, there were, in several of the provinces of that country, multitudes of persons, who had conceived the utmost aversion both

* Bazii Inventarium Eccles. Eccles. Sueco-Gothor. published in 4to, at Lincoping, in 1642. Sculteti Annales Evangelii Renovati, in Von der Hard Histor. Liter. Reformat. part v. p. 84 et 110. Raynal, Anecdotes Hist. Politiques et Militaires, tom. i. part ii. p. i. &c.

against

against the doctrine and tyranny of Rome, and, among these, many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. As their numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch and the cruelty of his officers intervened, to support the doctrine of Rome by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet; and on this occasion many persons, eminent for their piety and virtue, were put to death with the most unrelenting barbarity*. This cruelty however, instead of retarding, rather accelerated the progress of the reformation. Francis, who had either no religion at all, or at best, no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself towards the protestants in such a manner as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and his own interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy Charles V. then he treated the protestants in France with equity, humanity, and gentleness; but when he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services, then he threw off

* See Beze, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées de France*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 5. Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, livr. i. p. 6. Christ. Aug. Salig. *Histor. August. Confession*. vol. ii. p. 190.

the mask, and appeared to them in the aspect of an implacable and persecuting tyrant*.

About this time the famous Calvin began to draw the attention of the public, but more especially of the queen of Navarre. He was born at Noyon in Picardy, on the 10th of July, 1509, and was bred to the law†, in which, as well as in all the other branches of literature then known, his studies were attended with the most rapid success. Having acquired the knowledge of religion, by a diligent perusal of the holy scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to various perils, and the

* The inconsistency and contradiction, that were visible in the conduct of Francis I. may be attributed to various reasons. At one time we see him resolved to invite Melancthon into France, probably with a view to please his sister the queen of Navarre, whom he loved tenderly, and who had strongly imbibed the principles of the protestants. At another time we behold him exercising the most infernal cruelty towards the friends of the reformation, and hear him making that mad declaration, "that, if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would have it cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the Catholic church." See Flor. De Remond, *Hist. de la Naissance et du Progrès de l'Hérésie*, livr. vii.

† He was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice: but the light, that broke in upon his religious sentiments, as well as the preference given by his father to the profession of the law, induced him to give up his ecclesiastical vocation, which he afterwards resumed in a purer church.

connections he had formed with the friends of the reformation, whom Francis I. was daily committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the excellent queen of Navarre. To escape, however, the impending storm, he retired to Basil, where he published his *Christian Institutions*; and prefixed to them that famous dedication to Francis I. which has attracted the admiration of succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince against the protestants.

The doctrine of Luther made a considerable, though perhaps a secret, progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and the Netherlands, and had in all these countries many friends, of whom several repaired to Wittemberg, to improve their knowledge and enlarge their views under such an eminent master.

In the year 1539, George Duke of Saxony died; and his death was an event of great advantage to the reformers. From the first dawn of the reformation, he had been its enemy as avowedly as the electoral princes were its protectors. But by his death without issue, his succession fell to his brother Henry, whose attachment to the protestant religion surpassed, if possible, that of his predecessor to popery. Henry no sooner took possession of his new dominions, than he invited some protestant divines, and among them Luther himself,

to Leipzig; and, by their advice and assistance, he overturned in a few weeks the whole system of ancient rites, establishing the full exercise of the reformed religion, with the universal applause of his subjects, who had long wished for this change, which the authority of their duke alone had hitherto prevented*.

After a long succession of negotiations and delays, a general council was convoked at Trent in the year 1545, which appeared extremely hostile to the protestant cause. As soon as the confederates of Smalkalde received information of the opening of the council, they published a long manifesto, containing a protest against its meeting, together with the reasons which induced them to decline its jurisdiction†. The pope and emperor, on their part, were so little solicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly discovered that some object of greater importance occupied and interested them.

The protestants were not inattentive spectators of the motions of the sovereign pontiff and of Charles V.; and a variety of information, corroborating all which their own jealousy or observation led them to apprehend, left little reason to doubt of the emperor's hostile intentions. Under this impression, the deputies of the confederates of Smalkalde assembled at Francfort, and, by communicating their intelligence and sentiments to

* Sleidan, 249.

† Seckend. l. iii. 602, &c.

each other, reciprocally heightened their sense of the impending danger. But their union was not such as their situation required, or the preparations of their enemies rendered necessary. Their league had now subsisted ten years. Among so many members, whose territories were intermingled with each other, subjects of jealousy and discord had unavoidably arisen. Some of the confederates, being connected with the duke of Brunswick, were highly disgusted with the landgrave, on account of the rigour with which he had treated that rash and unfortunate prince: and others taxed the elector of Saxony and the landgrave, the heads of the league, with having involved the members in unnecessary and exorbitant expences, by their profuseness or want of œconomy.

To calm the apprehensions of the protestants, Charles had recourse to duplicity; and the military preparations he had already made were represented by Granvelle the imperial minister, as designed only as a defence against the attacks of the English and French. But the emperor's actions did not correspond with these professions. For, instead of appointing men of known moderation and a pacific temper, to appear in defence of the catholic doctrines, at a conference which had been agreed on, he made choice of fierce bigots, attached to their own system with a blind obstinacy, which rendered all hope of a reconciliation desperate. Malvenda, a Spanish divine, who took upon him

the conduct of the debate on the part of the catholics, managed it with all the subtle dexterity of a scholastic metaphysician, more studious to perplex his adversaries than to convince them, and more intent on palliating error than on discovering truth. The protestants, filled with indignation, as well at his sophistry as at some regulations which the emperor endeavoured to impose on the disputants, broke off the conference abruptly, being now fully convinced that, in all his late measures, the emperor could have no other view than to amuse them, and to gain time for ripening his own schemes*.

While appearances of danger daily increased, and the tempest which had been so long gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence against the protestant church, Luther was saved, by a seasonable death, from feeling or beholding its destructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, to his native city of Eisleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the counts of Mansfeld, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, February 18th, 1546, in the 63d year of his age. As he was raised up by Providence to be the author of one of the greatest and most interesting revolutions recorded in history, there is not any person perhaps whose character

* Sleid. 358. Seck. l. iii. 620.

has been drawn with such opposite colours. It is, however, his own conduct, not the undistinguishing censure or the exaggerated praise of his contemporaries, which ought to regulate the opinions of the present age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own system, abilities both natural and acquired to defend his principles, and unwearied industry in propagating them, are virtues which shine so conspicuously in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies must allow him to have possessed them in an eminent degree. To these may be added, with equal justice, such purity and even austerity of manners, as became one who assumed the character of a reformer; such sanctity of life as suited the doctrine which he delivered; and such perfect disinterestedness as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to the elegancies of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his disciples, remaining satisfied himself in his original state of professor in the university, and pastor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to these offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconsiderable mixture of human frailty and human passions. These, however, were of such a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but seem to have taken their rise from the same

source with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, roused by great objects, or agitated by violent passions, broke out, on many occasions, with an impetuosity which astonishes men of feebler spirits, or such as are placed in a more tranquil situation. By carrying some praise-worthy dispositions to excess, he bordered sometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which exposed him to censure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in asserting them, to rashness; his firmness in adhering to them, to obstinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adversaries, to rage and scurrility. Accustomed himself to consider every thing as subordinate to truth, he expected the same deference for it from other men; and, without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth against such as disappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardless of any distinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chastised all his adversaries indiscriminately with the same rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII. nor the eminent learning and abilities of Erasmus, screened them from the same gross abuse with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

Towards the close of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increased upon him,

him, so that he grew daily more peevish, more irascible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be a witness of his own amazing success; to see a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to shake the foundation of the papal throne, before which the mightiest monarchs had trembled, he discovered, on some occasions, symptoms of vanity and self-applause. He must have been, indeed, more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accomplished, he had never felt any sentiment of this kind rising in his breast.

Some time before his death he felt his strength declining, his constitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of business, added to the labour of discharging his ministerial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of constant study, besides the composition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leisure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forsake him at the approach of death; his last conversation with his friends was concerning the happiness reserved for good men in a future life, of which he spoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wished to enter soon upon the enjoyment of it*. His funeral was celebrated, by order of the elector of Saxony, with extraordinary pomp. He left several children by

* Sleid. 362. Seck. lib. iii. 632, &c.

his wife Catherine Boria, who survived him. Towards the end of the last century, there were in Saxony some of his descendants in decent and honourable stations*.

The emperor, meanwhile, pursued the plan of dissimulation with which he had set out; but such events soon occurred, as staggered the credit which the protestants had given to his declarations. The council of Trent, though still composed of a small number of Italian and Spanish prelates, without a single deputy from many of the kingdoms which it assumed a right of binding by its decrees, being ashamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to settle articles of the greatest importance. Having begun with examining the first and chief point in controversy between the church of Rome and the reformers, concerning the rule which should be held as supreme and decisive in matters of faith, the council, by its infallible authority, determined, “That the books, to which the designation of *apocryphal* hath been given, are of equal authority with those which were received by the Jews and primitive Christians into the sacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apostolic age, and preserved in the church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inspired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin translation of the scriptures, made or revised

* Seck. l. iii. 651.

by St Jerome, and known by the name of the *Vulgate* translation, should be read in churches, and appealed to in the schools, as authentic and canonical :” and against all who disclaimed the truth of these tenets, anathemas were denounced in the name and by the authority of the Holy Ghost.

Several circumstances conspired to convince the protestants that the council was ready to condemn their opinions, and the pope to punish all who embraced them, and that Charles had determined upon their extirpation. In this situation they expostulated with the emperor, and proposed several projects for settling the matter in dispute ; but their memorial was received by him with a contemptuous smile. Having already taken his final resolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them to acquiesce in it, he dispatched the cardinal of Trent to Rome, to conclude an alliance with the pope, the terms of which were already agreed on ; he commanded a body of troops, levied on purpose in the Low Countries, to advance towards Germany ; he gave commissions for raising men in different parts of the empire ; he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper time of exerting themselves, in order to rescue their ally, Henry of Brunswick, from captivity*.

The protestants, in this disagreeable situation,

* Sleid. 374. Seck. iii. 658.

had recourse to negotiations. The powers to which they addressed themselves were the state of Venice, the Helvetic body, the kings of France and England; but in all these applications they were successively disappointed. Notwithstanding, however, their ill success in their negotiations with foreign courts, the confederates found no difficulty at home, in bringing a sufficient force into the field. By a concurrence of causes, they were enabled to assemble in a few weeks an army composed of seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, provided with a train of one hundred and twenty cannon, eight hundred ammunition wag-gons, eight thousand beasts of burden, and six thousand pioneers*.

The number of their troops, as well as the amazing rapidity with which they had assembled them, astonished the emperor, and filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. He was, indeed, in no condition to resist such a mighty force. Shut up in Ratisbon, a town of no great strength, whose inhabitants, being mostly Lutherans, would have been more ready to betray than to assist him, with only three thousand Spanish foot, and about five thousand Germans who had joined him from different parts of the empire, he must have been

* Thuan. l. i. 601. Ludovici ab Avila & Zuniga Commentariorum de Bel. Germ. lib. duo, Antw. 1550. 12mo. p. 13. 2.

overwhelmed

overwhelmed by the approach of such a formidable army, which he could not fight, nor could he even hope to retreat from it in safety. The pope's troops, though in full march to his relief, had hardly reached the frontiers of Germany; the forces which he expected from the Low Countries had not yet begun to move, and were even far from being complete*. His situation, however, called for more immediate succour, nor did it seem practicable for him to wait for such distant auxiliaries, with whom his junction was so precarious.

But it happened fortunately for Charles, that the confederates did not avail themselves of the advantage which lay so full in their view. They addressed themselves to him by manifestoes, when they should have assailed him with arms. On the other hand, Charles, though in such a perilous situation as might have inspired him with moderate sentiments, appeared as inflexible and haughty as if his affairs had been in the most prosperous state. His only reply was to publish the ban of the empire against the elector of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse, their leaders, and against all who should dare to assist them. By this sentence, the ultimate and most rigorous one which the German jurisprudence has provided for the punishment of traitors, or enemies to their country, they were declared rebels and outlaws, and deprived of every privilege

* Sleid. 389. Avila. 8. a.

which

which they enjoyed as members of the Germanic body ; their goods were confiscated ; their subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance ; and it became not only lawful but meritorious to invade their territories. The authority of a diet of the empire ought to have been interposed before any of its members could be put under the ban. But Charles overlooked that formality, well knowing that, if his arms were crowned with success, there would remain none who would have either power or courage to call in question what he had done*.

A few days after the ban of the empire was published, the confederates, according to the custom of that age, sent a herald to the imperial camp with a solemn declaration of war against Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended emperor, and renounced all allegiance, homage, or duty which he might claim, or which they had hitherto yielded to him.

The war was carried on with various success for the greater part of the campaign, when the perfidy of prince Maurice of Saxony gave a decided turn in favour of the emperor. His view was manifestly from the first the increase of his dominions, which were too small for his aspiring mind. With this view, he had repaired to Ratisbon in the month of May, under pretext of attending the

* Sleid. 386. Du Mont, Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11. 314. Pfeffel, Hist. Abrégé du Droit Publ. 168. 736. 158.

diet; and with the most mysterious secrecy concluded a treaty, in which he engaged to assist the emperor as a faithful subject; and Charles, in return, stipulated to bestow on him all the spoils of the elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories*. History hardly records any treaty that can be considered as a more manifest violation of the most powerful principles which ought to influence human actions. Maurice, a professed protestant, at a time when the belief of religion, as well as zeal for its interests, took strong possession of every mind, binds himself to contribute his assistance towards carrying on a war which had manifestly no other object than the extirpation of the protestant doctrines. He engages to take arms against his father-in-law, and to strip his nearest relation of his honours and dominions. He joins a dubious friend against a known benefactor, to whom his obligations were both great and recent. Nor was the prince who ventured upon all this one of those audacious politicians, who, provided they can accomplish their ends, and secure their interest, avowedly disregard the most sacred obligations, and glory in contemning whatever is honourable or decent. Maurice's conduct, if the whole must be ascribed to policy, was more artful and masterly; he executed his plan in all its parts, and yet en-

* Harzei Annal. Brabant. vol. i. 638. Struvii Corp. 1048. Thuan. 84.

deavoured

deavoured to preserve, in every step which he took, the appearance of what was fair, and virtuous, and laudable. It is probable, from his subsequent behaviour, that, with regard to the protestant religion at least, his intentions were upright, that he fondly trusted to the emperor's promises for its security, but that, according to the fate of all who refine too much in policy, in attempting to deceive others, he himself was in some degree deceived.

His first care, however, was to keep the engagements, into which he had entered with the emperor, closely concealed : and so perfect a master was he in the art of dissimulation, that the confederates, notwithstanding his declining all connections with them, and his remarkable assiduity in paying court to the emperor, seemed to have entertained no suspicion of his designs. Even the elector of Saxony, when he marched at the beginning of the campaign to join his associates, committed his dominions to Maurice's protection, which he, with an insidious appearance of friendship, readily undertook*. But scarcely had the elector taken the field, when Maurice began to consult privately with the king of the Romans how to invade those very territories, with the defence of which he was entrusted. Soon after, the emperor sent him a copy of the imperial ban denounced

* Struvii Corp. 1046.

against

against the elector and landgrave. As he was next heir to the former, and particularly interested in preventing strangers from getting his dominions into their possession, Charles required him, not only for his own sake, but upon the allegiance and duty which he owed to the head of the empire, instantly to seize and detain in his hands the forfeited estates of the elector; warning him, at the same time, that if he neglected to obey these commands, he should be held as accessory to the crimes of his kinsman, and be liable to the same punishment*.

This artifice, which it was probable Maurice himself suggested, afforded him a flimsy pretext for seizing the dominions of his friend and benefactor, which, with some sacrifices to appearance, he presently put in practice.

After this unfortunate event, the confederates, weakened by the desertion of the elector, who was obliged to proceed to the defence of his dominions, and other causes, were oppressed by Charles on every side. The elector of Cologne voluntarily resigned that high dignity. With a moderation becoming his age and character, he chose to enjoy truth, together with the exercise of his religion, in the retirement of a private life, rather than to disturb society by engaging in a doubtful and violent struggle in order to retain his office†.

* Sleid. 391. Thuan. 84.

† Sleid. 418. Thuan. lib. iv. 128.

In the fatal battle of Mulhausen, the 24th of April, 1547, the elector of Saxony was taken prisoner. He was treated by the emperor with the utmost insolence; and, contrary to the laws of the empire and the faith of treaties, was brought to a mock trial, not before the states of the empire, but before a court-martial composed of Spanish and Italian officers. He was condemned to die by this unjust tribunal, and received the sentence with a magnanimity, which can only be exhibited by those who are actuated by the principles of true religion. It was his earnest desire to embrace himself his fate, and preserve his dominions untouched for his posterity; but the tears and entreaties of his wife and family prevailed over this resolve, and he submitted to the resignation of his electoral dignity, to which was annexed the severe condition of remaining the emperor's prisoner for life. The perfidious Maurice was put in possession of his electoral dominions; though this sacrifice was not made without reluctance by the ambitious emperor.

The unfortunate landgrave, terrified by the fate of the elector, was induced to commit himself to the emperor's clemency; but he too found that, after the most ignominious submission, he was detained a prisoner contrary to the faith of the emperor, expressly pledged: and he and the degraded elector of Saxony were exhibited to the populace in all the journies of the emperor, the melancholy witnesses and ornaments of his insolent triumph.

The

The unbounded ambition of the emperor, and the jealousy and resentment of the pope, operated at this dangerous crisis for the preservation of the reformed religion in Germany*. While both agreed that all religious disputes should be submitted to the general council, it was warmly debated where this council should sit, at Trent where it was originally convened, or at Bologna. When Charles found himself unable to overcome the obstinacy of the pope, he published that system of faith which is known by the name of the *Interim*, because it professed to contain only temporary regulations, till a free general council should be held; and he had influence enough with the diet, which was sitting at Augsburg, to obtain a kind of extorted or tacit consent that it should be received and enforced as a general system of faith throughout the German empire.

This system, which contained almost every article of the popish tenets expressed with studied ambiguity, proved equally disgusting to papists and protestants. While the Lutheran divines fiercely attacked it on the one hand, the general of the Dominicans with no less vehemence impugned it on the other. But at Rome, as soon as the contents of the *Interim* came to be known, the indignation

* See the detail and investigation of these transactions in one of the first historical works extant, Dr. Robertson's Charles V. vol. iii.

of the courtiers and ecclesiastics rose to the greatest height.

The pope, however, whose judgment was improved by longer experience in great transactions, as well as by a more extensive observation of human affairs, was astonished that a prince of such superior sagacity as the emperor should be so intoxicated with a single victory, as to imagine that he might give law to mankind, and decide even in those matters, with regard to which they are most impatient of dominion.

The emperor, on the other hand, fond of his own plan, adhered to his resolution of carrying it into full execution. But though the elector palatine, the elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, seemed ready to yield implicit obedience to whatever he should enjoin, he met not every where with a like obsequious submission. John, marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, although he had taken part with great zeal in the war against the confederates of Smalkalde, refused to renounce doctrines which he held to be sacred; and reminding the emperor of the repeated promises which he had given his protestant allies, of allowing them the free exercise of their religion, he claimed, in consequence of these, to be exempted from receiving the Interim. Some other princes also ventured to mention the same scruples, and to plead the same indulgence. But on this, as on other trying occasions, the firmness of the elector of Saxony was most distinguished,

tinguished, and merited the highest praise. Charles, well knowing the authority of his example with all the protestant party, laboured, with the utmost earnestness, to gain his approbation of the Interim, and attempted alternately to work upon his hopes and his fears. But he was alike regardless of both. After having declared his fixed belief in the doctrines of the reformation, he refused to abandon the principles for which he had so long contended. By this magnanimous resolution, he set his countrymen a pattern of conduct, so very different from that which the emperor wished him to have exhibited to them, that it drew upon him fresh marks of his displeasure, and he was deprived of every consolation which could mitigate the rigours of a close and tedious confinement*. The landgrave of Hesse, his companion in misfortune, did not maintain the same constancy, but wrote to the emperor, offering not only to approve of the Interim, but to yield an unreserved submission to his will in every other particular. Charles, however, who knew that whatever course the landgrave might hold, neither his example nor authority would prevail on his children or subjects to receive the Interim, paid no regard to his offers. He was kept confined as strictly as ever; and while he suffered the cruel mortification of having his conduct set in contrast with that of the elector, he derived not the smallest

* Sleid. 462.

benefit from the mean step which exposed him to such deserved censure*.

But it was from the free cities that Charles experienced the most violent opposition. He therefore proceeded, contrary to the laws of the German empire, to seize them by force, and to new-model their constitutions. While these affairs were transacting, Paul III. expired at Rome, in 1549, and the cardinal di Monte, who had been the confidential minister of Paul, was elected in his stead, and assumed the title of Julius III. With some difficulty this pontiff was prevailed upon by Charles to re-assemble the council at Trent. But a different scene now opened to the eyes of Europe. Maurice, who had formerly sacrificed so much to his inordinate ambition, became secretly jealous of the growing tyranny of the emperor; and desirous of retaining the power which he himself had obtained; his first measure was to protest in the warmest terms against the council to be called at Trent, unless the subjects already examined there were re-debated, and the protestants allowed a deciding voice in the council. His next was to conclude a secret treaty with Henry II. of France, for the purpose of reducing the emperor; and in the beginning of March, 1552, he declared war against that monarch, in support of the protestant religion. Charles was soon ignominiously expelled from Ger-

* Sleid. 462.

many; the council of Trent dissolved itself with consternation, and was not able to re-assemble for the space of ten years*.

After

* Our knowledge of the proceedings of this assembly is derived from three different authors. Father Paul of Venice wrote his History of the Council of Trent, while the memory of what had passed there was recent, and some who had been members of it were still alive. He has exposed the intrigues and artifices by which it was conducted, with a freedom and severity which have given a deep wound to the credit of the council. He has described its deliberations, and explained its decrees, with such perspicuity and depth of thought, with such various erudition and such force of reason, as have justly entitled his work to be placed among the most admired historical compositions. About half a century after, the Jesuit Pallavicini published his History of the Council, in opposition to that of Father Paul; and by employing all the force of an acute and refining genius to invalidate the credit, or to confute the reasonings of his antagonist, he labours to prove, by artful apologies for the proceedings of the council, and subtile interpretations of its decrees, that it deliberated with impartiality, and decided with judgment as well as candour. Vargas, a Spanish doctor of laws, who was appointed to attend the imperial ambassadors at Trent, sent the bishop of Arras a regular account of the transactions there, explaining all the arts which the legate employed to influence or overawe the council. His letters have been published, in which he inveighs against the papal court with that asperity of censure, which was natural to a man whose situation enabled him to observe its intrigues thoroughly, and who was obliged to exert all his attention and talents in order to disappoint them. But whichsoever of these authors an intelligent person takes for his guide, in forming a judgment concerning the spirit of the council, he must discover so much ambition as well as artifice among some of the members, so much

After these events, so glorious to the protestant cause, the peace of religion was concluded at Passau, on the 2d of August, 1552. By this treaty the

ignorance and corruption among others ; he must observe such a large infusion of human policy and passions mingled with such a scanty portion of that simplicity of heart, sanctity of manners, and love of truth, which alone qualify men to determine what doctrines are worthy of God, and what worship is acceptable to him ; that he will find it no easy matter to believe, that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovered over this assembly, and dictated its decrees.

The following is a short summary of the proceedings of this famous council, drawn up by a catholic, on whose liberality it reflects great honour :

The council of Trent, in whatsoever light it be considered, was certainly the most singular ecclesiastical assembly that ever met. As most people, even catholics, know little more about it, than that it was *a council*, I shall here give a short historical view of it, drawn from the acts themselves ; without any comment or criticism.

It was, at first, convoked to Mantua by Paul III. ; next to Vicenza, and then to Trent ; where it was opened on the 13th of December, 1545.

At the *first* session there were present only the pope's legates as presidents, four archbishops, and twenty-two bishops. Yet these decreed themselves to be already a *general council* ; and adjourned to the 7th January next year ; when a *second* session was holden ; but no decrees made.

In the *third* session (Feb. 4th) it was proposed to make a profession of faith ; and the Nicene, or rather the Constantinopolitan creed, was rehearsed and adopted. Thirty-eight prelates were then present, beside the legates.

In the *fourth* session (April 8th) forty-nine prelates made the famous decree concerning the canon of scripture, &c.

In

the landgrave was restored to liberty ; the Interim was declared null and void ; and both protestants and

In the *fifth* session (June 17th), at which were present nine archbishops, forty-eight bishops, and two proxies, were made the two canons concerning original sin, and a decree of two chapters on the reformation of discipline.

The *sixth* session was held on the 13th of January, 1547. In this session was framed the decree on justification, consisting of fifteen doctrinal chapters, followed by thirty-three canons ; with a reform decree of five chapters.—Present ten archbishops, forty-six bishops, and three proxies.

The same number of archbishops, with fifty bishops, and three proxies, made, in session *seventh* (March 3d), the twelve canons concerning the sacraments in general ; fourteen on baptism, and three on confirmation. Follows a decree of reform in fifteen chapters.—They then adjourned to the 21st of April : but meanwhile Paul thought fit to dissolve the synod, and forbade them to meet again until further orders. Whether the bull of dissolution, which bears date February the 24th, was ever formally published, it is uncertain.

We find the fathers still at Trent on the 11th of March ; when the *eighth* session was held ; and a proposal made by the president to transfer the council to Bologna ; which passed by a great majority, say the acts ; “ *contradicentibus tamen, et palam reclamantibus patribus nonnullis.*” The whole number of prelates present beside the legates, were fifty-eight ; of whom two archbishops and eighteen bishops were against a translation. Of these, eight were from Spain (the whole that were there of that nation), one a Sicilian, one a Portuguese, one a Sardinian, and one a Frenchman. The other party were almost all Italians, or persons devoted to the court of Rome.

The *ninth* session was held at Bologna, April 21st. But as none of the dissenting prelates attended, except one, it was agreed to adjourn to the 2d of June ; and then, again, to the

and catholics were secured in the free exercise of their religion, until the meeting of a diet, which was

14th of September; when it was still prorogued *ad beneplacitum concilii*. In fact, the synod seems to have been then dissolved. Paul died in 1549; and next year his successor Julius III. published his bull of *resumption*, by which he recalls the scattered prelates to Trent, and orders his legates to open the council anew. At first he said, he would come and preside in person: but he soon changed that intention.

The first session of this resumed synod, and the *eleventh* of the whole series, was held on the 1st of May, 1551; somewhat more than five years after the commencement of the council. How many prelates were present the acts do not tell us: but from Pallavicini we learn that Julius had given positive orders to all the bishops who were then at Rome, to the number of *eighty-four* (if there be no typographical error in my copy) to attend at Trent, against that day. However, it seems the legates found there no more than thirteen, almost all of them dependent on the emperor, *non più de tredici, quasi tutti dipendenti dall' imperadore*. Pallavic. lib. xi. cap. 14.—Hence the *twelfth* session was not held until the 1st of September; and then the synod was prorogued to the 11th of November, when

In the *thirteenth* session a decree concerning the eucharist (or Lord's supper) was formed; consisting of eight doctrinal chapters, and eleven canons; followed, as usual, by a decree on reformation of discipline. At this session were present five archbishops and thirty-nine bishops.

In the *fourteenth* session (Nov. 25th) were formed the decree and canons concerning the sacraments of penance and extreme unction. On the former there are nine doctrinal chapters and fifteen canons; on the latter three chapters and four canons. Follows a decree of reform. The same number of prelates as at the former session.

The *fifteenth* session was held on the 25th of January, 1552;

was to be summoned within six months, to determine amicably the present disputes. Maurice did not

in which the *safe-conduct*, that had been prepared for the protestants, was decreed; and an adjournment made to the 28th of April. The number of prelates were forty-four.

The council met accordingly; but the German bishops, particularly the electors, having left Trent, for the concerns of their respective churches, *suis consultum ecclesiis*; the remaining fathers suspended the operations of the synod for *two years*, "unless before that period things should wear a more auspicious appearance."

Instead of *two*, it was nearly *eight years* suspended. For Julius dying in 1555; and nothing being done in the short pontificates of Marcellus and Paul IV. it was not until the year 1563, that the synod was re-assembled by a bull of Pius IV.

On the 18th day of January of that year was the *seventeenth* session held, but nothing material done in it.

In session *eighteenth*, a new *safe-conduct* was decreed for the *Germans*; and afterwards extended to other nations.

The *nineteenth* and *twentieth* were sessions of mere prorogation; but in

Session *twenty-first* was framed the momentous decree concerning communion in one kind (which gave so much displeasure to the *Germans*); consisting of four doctrinal chapters, and as many canons; followed by a reform-decree.

The *twenty-second* session was held on the 17th of September; in which a decree of nine doctrinal chapters and as many canons was framed on the sacrifice of the mass. The council was then prorogued to the 12th of November; but did not meet until the 15th of July next year: when in the

Twenty-fourth session a decree was formed on the sacrament of marriage; consisting of a short doctrinal preamble and eleven canons. Follow two long decrees on reformation.

The *twenty-fifth* and last session took place on the 3d of December,

not long survive to enjoy the fruits either of his newly-acquired glory, or of his former treachery and usurpation.

ember, and lasted two days. On the first was formed the decree concerning purgatory and the invocation of saints; but without any canons annexed. The work of the second day was a decree concerning indulgences, abstinence, fasting, and other points of discipline; followed by no canons.

The decrees passed from the beginning of the council were then rehearsed; the synod declared to be closed, and its acts decreed to be sent to the pope for his confirmation.

The number of prelates who were present at the conclusion of the synod, and signed its decrees, were four pope's legates, two cardinals besides, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight bishops, and thirty-six proxies, seven mitred abbots, and seven generals of religious orders; in all two hundred and sixty-five.—Of whom were

Italian	-	186	Polish	-	-	2
Spanish	-	35	Moravian	-	-	1
Portuguese	-	3	Croatian	-	-	1
French	-	27	Illyrican	-	-	3
Flemish	-	2	Greek	-	-	6
German	-	6	English	-	-	1
Hungarian	-	2	Irish	-	-	3

Such was the famous *synod of Trent*, according to its own acts, as they are printed in Labbe's edition of the councils. From this bare, unadorned account, the intelligent impartial reader will, I presume, be able to decide for himself, how far it may deserve the appellation of a *general acumenical council*. As to its *freedom*, it is impossible to form a just idea of it without consulting the historians who have given a detailed narrative of its proceedings, united with contemporary transactions; and compared with the actual situation of Christian Europe at that period.

The

usurpation. He was killed in the battle of Sieverhausen, fighting against Albert of Brandenburg (who

The pope having by his bull of the 3d of January, 1564, confirmed, by *apostolical authority*, the decrees of the council, and forbidden, under pain of actual excommunication, any comments, notes, or explanations to be made on them, even under pretext of defending them; without *his* authority: the next point was to get the council and his confirmation of it formally received in the various nations in communion with the Roman see. The Venetians first, and readily, accepted it. The Poles, soon after; and next the Spaniards, and the German catholics, though with difficulty, and some restrictions as to points of discipline. But all the art and repeated efforts of the court of Rome, favoured by the wishes and frequent endeavours of the Gallican clergy, could never obtain for it a legal acceptance in France. The bishops, if they pleased, might adopt its decrees in as far as they were not contrary to standing laws and usages of the realm; but still no legal sanction could be obtained for them. Not less than *twenty-three* articles were objected to; as tending to destroy the fundamental maxims of the French government, and the liberties of the Gallican church. The celebrated Pasquier, after mentioning some of those odious doctrines, expresses himself thus: "In all which particulars, we have found such a repugnance, and contravention to our ancient liberties, that never can we be induced to receive this council. For first, it takes from bishops the power of reforming the churches of their own dioceses; and grants them only such a portion of power as the holy see judges proper to distribute, which we believe to be contrary to the ancient canons, approved by our Gallican church.—Besides this, the council would establish here a new empire over kings, princes, barons—every civil jurisdiction—which, in plain French, is to introduce old abuses which we had reformed; whereas I can demonstrate
"that

(who had not acceded to the peace of Passau), on the 9th of June, 1553, in the 32d year of his age, and in the 6th after his attaining the electoral dignity. It is to be regretted, that the degraded elector derived no advantage from this event. The states of Saxony, with that ingratitude and inconsistency which distinguishes the proceedings of every mob, preferred the claim of Augustus, the brother of Maurice, by the descendants of whom the electorate is still possessed.

“ that our national privileges, and the liberties of the Gallican church, are such as the authority of neither pope, nor council, can abrogate; as they are founded on a sacred and general *reason* (sur une raison sainte et generale). By the admission of such decrees, instead of introducing *order*, we should bring in *disorder*, with a *monarchy*, which was never beheld in the middle of ours. Wisely then has this council been never received in France; by which, with one stroke of the pen, the pope would acquire more authority, than it was in his power to have done from the foundation of our christianity. ”

Perhaps I cannot better conclude this subject, than by appropriating to myself another passage of this very judicious writer; and nearly in his own words. “ I have no intention to depreciate the good fathers of Trent; but cannot help wishing, that their zeal and devotion had been accompanied with a little more wisdom and discretion; and that in guarding the *pretended* privileges of the Roman see, they had not furnished its real enemies with the fittest weapons to overthrow it.”—They are, certainly, the greatest foes to papal prerogative, who would set no bounds to it; and give to the bishop of Rome a power over his fellow christians; which neither divine *scripture*, nor catholic *tradition*, nor sound *policy*, avow.

GEDDES'S Letter to the Bishop of Centuria, App. viii.

It was nearly three years before the troubles of Germany would permit a diet to be assembled. In the year 1555, however, this famous and eagerly-expected diet met at Augsburg, and was opened by Ferdinand, in the emperor's name; and after many debates and intrigues, a recess was at length framed and passed on the 25th of September, which completely confirmed the peace of religion. The following are the chief articles which this act of legislature contained. That such princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Confession of Augsburg, shall be permitted to profess the doctrine and exercise the worship which it authorises, without interruption or molestation from any power or person whatsoever; that the protestants, on their part, shall give no disquiet to the princes and states who adhere to the tenets and rites of the church of Rome; that, for the future, no attempt shall be made towards terminating religious differences, but by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference; that the popish ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such states as receive the Confession of Augsburg; that such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the church previous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be liable to no prosecution in the imperial chamber on that account; that the supreme civil power in every state shall have a right to establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper, and,
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if any of its subjects refuse to conform to these, shall permit them to remove with all their effects whithersoever they shall please; that if any prelate or ecclesiastic shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion, he shall instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination is vested, to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or translation, and to appoint a successor of undoubted attachment to the ancient system *.

* Sleid. 620. F. Paul, 368. Pallav. p. 11. 161.

CHAP. IV.

REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

Unexpectedly favoured by Henry VIII.—Wolsey favours the king's project for obtaining a divorce—The pope embarrassed between the English and Spanish factions—Cardinal Campoggio dispatched to England—Cranmer's project—His elevation, and the fall of Wolsey—Decisions in favour of the divorce—Henry forbids his subjects to receive bulls from Rome—Marries Anna Bullen—Proceedings of the parliament and convocation—The marriage with Catharine annulled—Displeasure of the emperor—The pope asserts the validity of Catharine's marriage—Henry resolves to reject the papal yoke, but treats the reformers with severity—Reformation favoured by the queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell—Cromwell projects the suppression of the monks—Several religious houses destroyed—Translation of the Bible—Ruin of the queen—Overture from the pope—General council proposed, which Henry refuses to attend—Insurrection quelled—The pope endeavours to excite the kings of Scotland and France to arm against Henry—Act of the six articles—Entire suppression of the monasteries—Downfall and death of Cromwell—Opposition to the new translation of the Bible—Translation of the Prayers—Death of Henry—Edward VI. with the Protector, favours the reformation—Opposed by Bonner, Gardiner, and the princess Mary—Marriages of the clergy declared legal—Liturgy confirmed—Death of Edward VI.—Mary opposes the reformation—Restoration of the ancient rites—Degradation of Cranmer—Treaty

—*Treaty between Mary and the pope—Marriage of Mary with the prince of Spain—Proceedings against the reformers—Death of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer—Death of Mary—Completion of the reformation under Elizabeth.*

FROM causes not less fortuitous than those which produced the reformation in Germany, must the reformation in England be deduced : for though the commencement of that event is justly referred to the measures of Henry VIII. yet it certainly never obtained his full concurrence, and a persecution of the reformed opinions marked almost every period of his reign. Educated by his father Henry VII. with uncommon care, the literary attainments of this monarch exceeded those of the generality of princes; and the scholastic divinity, so congenial to his vain and contentious temper, was prosecuted by him with unremitting industry. Thomas Aquinas became his favourite author, and the contempt with which Luther treated the dogmas of this writer, excited in Henry the warmest indignation and abhorrence. Impelled by resentment, he published a Treatise upon the *Seven Sacraments*, in reply to the book concerning the Babylonish Captivity, written by Luther. This work was admired by the multitude, extolled by the courtiers, and spoken of by the pope in full consistory, in terms only suited to the productions of immediate inspiration; and the zeal of the pious monarch was rewarded by the descendant

scendant of St. Peter, with the title (still enjoyed by his successors) of *Defender of the Faith*.

A perfect agreement amongst the most formidable opponents of Luther was however prevented by various circumstances. Both public and private interest induced Henry to oppose the designs of the emperor Charles V. ; and the offence he had given to his favourite cardinal Wolsey, in opposing his views to the papacy, contributed to the declaration of the monarch in favour of the antagonists of Charles. It is probable that the hatred and resentment of the cardinal towards the house of Spain contributed in no inconsiderable degree to his ready concurrence in the real or fictitious scruples of Henry, against further cohabitation with his wife Catharine of Arragon, the widow of his deceased brother. The greater part of the bishops obediently acquiesced in the project of the king and his favourite for obtaining a divorce, and all, except the bishop of Rochester, declared their opinions against the legality of the marriage, though it had received the sanction of a papal dispensation. Wolsey flattered the king with speedily obtaining a favourable decision from the court of Rome ; and, had no other interest intervened, it is probable, from the facility with which all dispensations from that court were procured, that Henry would not have been disappointed. But the pope, though under obligations to Henry, was in the power of the emperor. The reiterated

entreaties and presents of Wolsey at length obtained the appointment of cardinal Campeggio as legate, who was invested with powers to examine and afterwards to annul the marriage; and to this commission was added the authority for indulging cardinal Wolsey in his long-meditated scheme of appropriating the revenues of several monasteries to the support of colleges, bishoprics, and cathedral churches.

Previous to the arrival of the legate, the queen had engaged the assistance of the emperor, her nephew, in her cause. The English and imperial factions at Rome sedulously endeavoured to obtain a decision favourable to the views of their respective courts; and the embarrassed pontiff, to avoid giving positive offence to either party, dispatched orders to Campeggio to protract the decision. The legate secretly favoured the party of the emperor, and contrived delays little adapted to the desires of the king, who was violently enamoured with the beautiful and accomplished Anna Bullen, whom he ardently wished to espouse. Every artifice and intrigue which could be suggested by policy were employed to procure a decretal bull annulling the marriage; but the pope was inflexible, and it was not till after repeated delays that the legate began the process in England. The unhappy Catharine refused to defend her cause in a court in which she was certainly prejudged, and appealed to the pope, who, by the influence of
the

the emperor, cited Henry to appear at Rome : but this summons the monarch absolutely refused.

Extremely irritated by the protraction of his suit, Henry became disgusted with cardinal Wolsey for not having accomplished the business of the divorce. In this situation of affairs, a project was proposed by Dr. Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, that the king should engage the principal European divines, and the universities, to examine the legality of his marriage ; and if they, from the evidence of scripture, pronounced it unlawful, that he should then declare the marriage null, as the dispensation of the pope could not be sufficient to abrogate the law of God. This measure introduced Cranmer into the confidence of the king, and his elevation kept pace with the falling fortunes of Wolsey. The decisions of those to whom the cause of the king was referred were in favour of a divorce : but the pope refused a ratification of their sentence ; and Henry, disgusted with his conduct, prohibited any person within his dominions from publishing a bull contrary to his own authority. The decision of the divines was confirmed by the parliament, and the convocation ; and every thing foreboded a rupture with Rome.

A protracted courtship of seven years had not abated the affections of the king, and he married Anna Bullen. He was again cited to appear at Rome, but his agents protested against the jurisdiction of the pope. In 1533, the parliament

372 *Marriage of Henry with Anna Bullen.* [CENT. 16.]

again met, and an act passed by which it was determined that no appeal should be made to the court of Rome, nor any respect paid to its censures. The convocation proceeded concerning the king's union with Catharine, which was declared unlawful; and Cranmer, who had, though contrary to his wish, been appointed archbishop of Canterbury*, pronounced a divorce which annulled the marriage of Henry with his former queen. Anna Bullen was immediately invested with the crown, and made a public procession through the city. The emperor was extremely incensed by these measures; and the king of France, though he had previously engaged to mediate with the pope in favour of Henry, and even to institute a patriarch in France in opposition to the see of Rome, yet appeared little disposed to involve himself in disputes with that court. The pope however, alarmed at the probability of losing England, promised Henry that upon his return to spiritual obedience he would still decide in his favour. Henry readily acceded to the terms, and dispatched an envoy to Rome, who from the delays he encountered in his journey did not arrive there in the appointed time, and the imperial faction represented his non-appearance as contumacy on the part of Henry, who was punished by

* The papal *bulls* confirming this appointment amounted to eleven, each of which had a certain price affixed; one of the common stratagems for filling the pontifical coffers.

a papal decree which ratified the decision of the consistory, that the marriage between the king and Catharine was perfectly valid, and he was required to live with her as his lawful wife. This determined Henry to shake off the papal yoke. The arguments concerning the supremacy were fully discussed, and it was determined both by the parliament and convocation, that the pope possessed no power in England, and that the authority of the king extended to the regulation not only of civil but of ecclesiastical concerns. The succession to the throne was settled upon the issue of his present marriage, or, in default of that, on the king's right heirs for ever, and sworn to by nearly all the clergy, regular and secular. In the ensuing sessions of 1534, an act passed declaring the king *the supreme head, on earth, of the church of England*, and all heresies and abuses in the spiritual jurisdiction were referred to him and his heirs, to be openly tried. The revenues formerly exacted by the popes were assigned to the crown.

The preachers of reformation had been little molested during the ministry of Wolsey. The German reformers had dispatched to them a considerable number of books, which exposed the errors and absurdities of the Romish church, and were secretly but extensively circulated*. The principal

* A work composed by a person of the name of Fish, an inhabitant of Gray's Inn, entitled *A Supplication of the Beggars*,

pal performance they received, was a translation of the Bible. On the appointment of Sir Thomas More to the chancellorship, the king was however persuaded to treat the reformers with severity, as the most infallible method to conciliate the favour of the Romish see. The laws against them were accordingly rigorously enforced, and numbers were burnt at the stake. These proceedings were however checked by an act which regulated the proceedings against heretics, and by the necessity in which the king was involved, in order to embarrass the operations of the emperor, and to prevent his directing his arms against England. With this design, he united himself with the princes of Germany, who inserted a particular article in all their treaties for the security of such as professed the reformed doctrines; and these doctrines were openly encouraged by the queen, who appointed Latimer and Shaxton, the bishops of Worcester and Salisbury, to be her chaplains. Cranmer was well apprised of the necessity of a reformation; but, with the judgment and temper suitable to such

became extremely popular during this period. In this performance the begging fraternity were exhibited as complaining of the mendicant friars, who intercepted the provisions intended for their support; and the pope was accused of extreme cruelty towards them, since his exorbitant demands for their deliverance from purgatory excluded them from the hopes of enjoying in another world the comforts which had been denied them in this. Sir Thomas More answered this performance, but without injuring the reputation of the work.

an undertaking, he carefully collected the religious opinions of the first fathers of the church; and his views were assisted by Cromwell, who had been the favourite of Wolsey, and whose virtues and talents had justly entitled him to royal favour. A powerful party however prepared to oppose with vigour any alterations in the established opinions, and represented to Henry the extreme danger he incurred by religious innovation.

The nobility and gentry were in general extremely well satisfied with the alterations that had taken place; but the body of the people still remained in the power of the priests, who regarded the queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell with peculiar jealousy. The monks trembled at the intimation that Cromwell was forming a project for their suppression, in consequence of the powers with which he had been invested as vicar general and visitor of all the churches and monasteries, and as enjoying all the functions under the king, which had been exercised by the legates under the popes. To punish the monks, who, under the appearance of a perfect acquiescence in the late measures, excited a refractory spirit in the people; and to convince the latter of the enormities committed by those spiritual directors, a visitation of all the religious houses was proposed, and the abuses which were consequently discovered occasioned the suppression of several monasteries. In the ensuing sessions of

parliament, all monasteries the revenues of which did not amount to 200l. per ann. were suppressed. The value of these religious houses was, however, in reality much greater than the sum at which they were estimated, and a very considerable treasure was consequently poured into the royal coffers.

A convocation was held in 1536, in which, after several vehement disputes, Cranmer obtained permission from the king to have the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue, and within three years the impression was completed. This brilliant dawn preceded however a tempestuous day. The versatile Henry had again changed the object of his affections, whose influence * over his mind had probably occasioned the readiness with which he entered into schemes calculated to produce effects to which he was in reality adverse; and the enemies of the reformation took advantage of the change in the king's mind, to ruin Anna Bullen, whose unhappy death considerably retarded the progress of the reformed doctrines. On the accession of Paul III. to the papal chair, a proposition was made to the king to reconcile himself to the church of Rome; but the attempt was unsuccessful, and was followed by a sentence of deposition against Henry. This however was equally ineffective, and the pope condescended once more

* "Thus love could teach a monarch to be wise,

"And gospel-light first beam'd from Boleyn's eyes." GRAY,

to intimate, that Henry still possessed the happiness of having it in his power to reconcile himself to the holy see.

During the convocation the project for a reform was very warmly agitated, and the king sent down some articles for their consideration. These, which considered the ancient creeds as the standards of faith, stated in proper terms the nature of justification and the gospel covenant, condemned the worship of images, and left the doctrine of purgatory undecided, were signed by Cranmer and the favourers of reformation, who rejoiced in having thus far carried their point. They were even acceded to by the opposite party. The encouragement afforded to freedom of debate was however extremely obnoxious to the friends of papacy, and the more as Cranmer industriously introduced discussions concerning every point in controversy between the reformers and the church of Rome,

As Henry made no overtures for a reconciliation with the church, Paul III. summoned a general council to meet at Mantua, and cited the monarch to appear. To this Henry replied, that the pope had not authority to summon any English subject; that the place appointed was unsafe, and improper; that no advantages could be derived from a council in which he presided, since the regulation of his authority was the principal reason why a council should be convened; that the emperor and king of France were then at war, which rendered

dered the season improper; and that there was reason to suppose, from his having so long refused this measure, and convening a council at such a conjuncture, that he had some sinister designs in contemplation. The king further protested against all councils convened by the pope, but professed his readiness to concur with the other European princes in calling a general council whenever it should be convenient. This declaration was renewed when the council was summoned to meet at Vincenza.

In consequence of the visits made by the inspectors to the inferior monasteries, ten thousand unfortunate religious were turned into the world with no larger a provision than the sum of forty shillings and a gown each. Great numbers were transferred into other monasteries; and the churches and convents belonging to their ancient abodes destroyed, and the materials sold. The treasure obtained by these suppressions was incredible, but the measure was extremely unpopular. The books in which the disorders committed in these houses were exposed, had little effect in appeasing the popular discontent, which was further inflamed by a requisition to the clergy to preach at certain stated seasons conformably to the new articles of faith; at which they were so much incensed as to promote an insurrection in the northern counties, which was with much difficulty quelled. This was no sooner accomplished, than Henry proceeded to suppress

suppress several other monasteries. To convince the people the more effectually of the enormities of the monks and clergy, their impositions and pretended miracles were fully exposed, and the king proceeded in his project of suppressing the whole of the monastic orders. When this was reported at Rome, every pen was wielded against this sacrilegious tyrant, this opponent of Christ's vicar on earth, and his saints in heaven; and the parallels between Henry and Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Nero, Dioclesian, and Julian the Apostate, were much dwelt upon, with only this difference, that the manners of the modern monster were still more infamous than even those of his predecessors in iniquity. The thunders of the Vatican were hurled against his guilty head; he was cited to appear before the pope, or to be deposed from his throne; the kingdom was laid under an interdict, his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and exhorted to rebellion; the clergy required to leave the kingdom; all princes were absolved from their confederacies with him, and all Christians exhorted to take up arms against the apostate monarch and his heretical subjects. Not satisfied however with general imprecations of vengeance, the pope wrote to the monarchs of Scotland and France, to excite them to active opposition against their offending brother.

The translation of the Bible was completed in 1537, and Cromwell had the address to obtain an order

order from the king that it should be permitted to be read by all his subjects. There was however no abatement of zeal against the heretics in the mind of Henry, and his hatred towards them was increased by the exhortations of the bigoted Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who represented that severity against them was not only in itself proper and salutary, but extremely well adapted to conciliate the good opinion of the people. The influence of Cranmer with the king had for some time been declining; but Cromwell, who still preserved his place in the confidence of Henry, and who was equally solicitous in the cause of reformation, determined to engage the monarch in such an alliance with the princes of Germany, as should secure the promotion of their views.

In April 1538, a parliament was again convened, in which, after several debates, at which the king assisted in person, and the arduous Cranmer spoke during several succeeding days, six articles of faith were enacted, of a nature very opposite to the opinions recently received. It was enacted by them, that whoever denied transubstantiation, that whoever maintained that the communion in both kinds was necessary, or that it was lawful for priests to marry, or that vows of chastity could innocently be broken, or that private masses were unprofitable, or auricular confession unnecessary, should be burned or hanged according to the *good pleasure* of the court. This act, which from its horrid consequences

quences obtained the name of the *Bloody Statute*, exposed the reformers to the severest punishments; and only one source of consolation remained, that they were to be no longer delivered to the protracted and indefinite cruelties of an ecclesiastical court. No possible deliverance however remained to them from the penalties annexed to a breach of the first article, which enacted that all who denied the real presence in the sacrament should be burned, even though they afterwards abjured their opinions. The German princes remonstrated against the Act of the Six Articles, and received the assurance that they should not be enforced except in cases of extreme provocation and necessity.

In 1539, the total dissolution of the monasteries was effected; but Cromwell's activity in their suppression, and his ardour for the doctrines of reformation, had rendered him extremely unpopular; and his elevation from the station of an obscure individual to the enjoyment of the highest honours of the state made him extremely obnoxious to the nobility. The attachment of the king to Catharine Howard afforded the duke of Norfolk, her uncle, an opportunity of effecting the ruin of a man whose birth he despised, whose sentiments he abhorred, and whose elevation he envied. The clergy had suffered too much from the exposure and censures of Cromwell, not to concur in any measure which might accelerate his fall. He was accord-

accordingly attainted of high treason, and lost his life on the block. The death of Cromwell for some time impeded the progress of the doctrines of the reformation, and the king was engaged in a renewal of severities against the reformed party.

In the year 1541, a new impression of the Bible was finished, and a requisition was issued for its being admitted into every church. Six copies of the work were placed in St. Paul's. The populace perused them with great earnestness; but Bonner, bishop of London, sensible of the tendency this had to introduce an investigation of the old opinions, earnestly endeavoured to prevent this measure. In the ensuing year the bishops sedulously endeavoured to suppress the new translation; but the king declared in its favour, and they were compelled to recur to the pretence that it was so inaccurate as to demand condemnation. In opposing the present translation, they indulged the expectation, that to them would be allotted the employment of making a new one, and consequently the power of protracting its appearance to a remote time. Gardiner proposed as an emendation, that several of the Latin words should be retained in the English, as possessing so much majesty, or so peculiar a signification, that they did not admit of a literal translation; but the reformed party accused him, and not without probability, of a wish to render the work unintelligible. This absurd measure was opposed by Cranmer, by whose influence

influence the correction of the Bible was referred to the two universities.

The full use of the translation was not however allowed ; but in the year 1543, an act passed, which prohibited the inferior orders of the people from possessing a Bible. The spirits of the reformers were revived in the ensuing year by an order from the king, for translating into English the Prayers, Processions, and Litanies, which they flattered themselves would be succeeded by a full translation of all the different Liturgies. Henry however lived not further to prosecute the work of reformation, but died on the 27th of January, in the year 1547. He left all parties dissatisfied with his conduct. His system of reformation was not calculated to satisfy the minds of either. He had proceeded too far not to offend the one, but stopped very short of what would have gratified the other ; and to both he was equally the object of distrust and of fear.

The first step respecting the reformation which was publicly taken after the accession of Edward VI. his son and successor, was in consequence of the marked disapprobation which was frequently shewn to images. Several were forcibly taken down from the churches ; and Seymour, duke of Somerset, who had been invested with the title of protector during the minority of the king, justified the measure, but prudently censured the violent and disorderly mode in which it had been performed.

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The deceased monarch, by the suppression of the monasteries, had without reluctance deprived the dead of the benefit of the masses which had already been paid for, and which were to effect their deliverance from purgatorial pains ; but this was during the enjoyment of health, and in the prospect of an extended life. That superstition which has been early implanted in the mind is, however, apt to recur whenever the mind from any cause becomes weakened ; and Henry conferred a rich endowment upon the church of Windsor for the reciting of masses upon his account. This splendid donation was not, however, without effects, of the benefit of which the reformers largely partook ; it introduced an inquiry into the utility of soul-masses and obits, which was extremely favourable to the cause of reformation. The populace were indeed in general very desirous of an ecclesiastical reform, and their zeal was assisted by the indefatigable exertions of Cranmer, and of several of the other bishops. Every innovation was, however, strenuously opposed by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Bonner bishop of London, and the bigoted Tunstal ; and the princess Mary made an open declaration against any alteration taking place during the minority of the king. These efforts were not sufficiently effectual to prevent the reformers from obtaining a visitation of the churches, in which several regulations were instituted, and the injunctions made during the ministry of Cromwell were

CENT. 16.] *Communion received in both Kinds.* 385
enforced; several of the images were degraded from
their former situations, and publicly burned.

In the first parliament of Edward, an act passed
for receiving the communion in both kinds; and
the convocation, which sat at the same time, de-
termined in favour of the legality of marriages con-
tracted by any of the sacerdotal order. In the year
1548, an order was issued for the suppression of
several ceremonies, and to this an injunction ensued
for the removal of all images from the churches;
and all shrines, together with the plate, were ap-
propriated to the use of the king. A new office
was composed for the administration of the com-
munion. The necessity of confession was, how-
ever, a point still left undetermined, and gave se-
veral of the clergy considerable offence. But it
produced a discussion which was very favourable to
the discovery of truth. A new liturgy was com-
posed, and the morning and evening prayers were
very nearly the same with those at present in use;
it was accompanied with a preface the same that
is still prefixed to the book of common-prayer. In
the progress of this business, the pulpits of the dif-
ferent parties resounded with commendations of the
ancient customs, or invectives against them; and
each party proceeded to measures so rude and in-
decent, that it became necessary to issue an order
for restraining preaching; and the preachers were
limited to the use of the homilies, till the comple-
tion of the liturgy.

In the year 1549 an act passed, legalizing the marriages of the clergy, and another confirming the liturgy. Cranmer having obtained these concessions, endeavoured still further to extend the reformed opinions respecting the nature of the Lord's supper. In 1550, a new form of ordination was prepared, and confirmed under the great seal; the prayers to the saints were erased from the ancient rituals, and the clergy ceased to oppose the progress of alteration. From the different changes which had arisen in ecclesiastical promotions, the bishops were in general extremely well affected to the reformation; and it was therefore agreed to proceed to a settlement of the articles of religion. Previous to their appearance, the doctrines which they were intended to establish were investigated in several publications. When they were first digested their number amounted to forty-two, but from some alterations which took place in them under the reign of Elizabeth, they were reduced to thirty-nine. The reformers next proceeded to revise the prayer-book; to which was added the confession and absolution, and the whole assumed the appearance it still retains. The brilliancy of the prospect they had now attained was, however, soon obscured, and the premature death of the virtuous young king impeded the establishment of the reformation.

Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. and of Catharine of Arragon, ascended the throne with a

fixed determination to introduce popery, and would precipitately have abolished every vestige of the reformation, had not the persuasions and advice of her counsellors, and principally of Gardiner whom she had promoted to the office of chancellor, induced her to effect her measures by gradual means. Bonner, whose violence had occasioned his expulsion from the bishopric of London during the former reign, was soon re-instated in his see; but some oblique reflections against the memory of the deceased monarch, thrown out in a sermon by Bourn one of the bishop's chaplains, occasioned a violent ferment amongst the populace. This tumult afforded a pretext for new measures, and a prohibition was issued to prevent the preaching of any, but such as could obtain a license from the bigoted chancellor. Images and the ancient rites began soon to re-appear; the Roman catholics were encouraged and promoted, and the reformers as much as possible excluded from all offices of power and trust. These measures were too unjust and violent, not to excite the indignation of Cranmer, who, with the benevolent and virtuous Latimer bishop of Worcester, and several others, was imprisoned in the Tower. A parliament was speedily summoned, from which many of the friends of reformation were either artfully or violently excluded, and an act passed for repealing all the laws relative to religion enacted during the former

reign. Cranmer was degraded from the see of Canterbury, and attainted of high treason.

These events, so distressing to the reformers, were succeeded by the intelligence which soon began to transpire of the treaty between Mary and the pope. On her accession to the throne, a messenger had been secretly dispatched to her from his holiness, to persuade her to a reconciliation with the apostolic see. Mary was perfectly disposed to the measure, and assured him of her firm intention to return to the obedience required ; but was too sensible of the obstruction which might arise to her affairs by the premature declaration of such an intention, not to oblige the messenger to secrecy. The submission of the queen was gratefully received by the court of Rome. A public rejoicing of three days succeeded the intelligence, during which the pope officiated at the mass in person, and made a liberal distribution of indulgencies to the people. Cardinal Pole was appointed in the quality of legate to negotiate the affair in England ; but his journey was deferred at the express desire of the queen, who found that the restoration of the papal power, and the union with the prince of Spain which was then negotiating, were steps too adventurous to be undertaken at the same time. To soften this delay, Mary transmitted to the cardinal an account of the progress she had already made in the restoration of popery. The legate was little appeased by this submission, but replied, that though he rejoiced
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in the steps already taken, yet many defects still remained ; that in the act concerning the legality of her mother's marriage, no mention was made of the pope's supremacy; and that what was still more censurable was the restoration of public worship in the state in which it existed on the decease of her father, which was certainly a schism, and she had therefore established schism by law : he concluded a long letter upon these subjects by exhorting the queen to avoid a cautious and timid policy, to trust in the assistance of God, and to request from the parliament that they would solicit the legate to reconcile them to the Roman see. The queen was, however, under the entire influence of Gardiner, whose aversion to the cardinal was extreme; and no dispatches were sent over to request the presence and good offices of the legate.

The convocation met at the same time with the parliament, and the disputes concerning the sacrament were again warmly agitated in the assembly. The subject was, however, pre-judged, and the arguments of those who denied the real presence were received with clamour, and decided against by a considerable majority.

The marriage of Mary with the prince of Spain was a measure so extremely unpopular that insurrections took place in several parts of the kingdom. They were, however, soon quelled ; but produced the general effects of an ill-concerted opposition even to a weak government; the friends of the

queen were elated, and her enemies depressed. Nor was this the only advantage they produced : a pretext was by this means afforded for the removal of suspected or disaffected persons, and the reformed party were charged, though without any sufficient proof, of being the authors of the revolt. Injunctions were issued to the bishops to enforce the ecclesiastical laws which existed during the reign of Henry VIII. They were further required to suppress all heresy and heretics, and to dismiss all married clergymen from their appointments. This was succeeded by an order for the expulsion of seven of the reformed bishops, under the pretext either of their marriage, or their opposition to the *universal church*. Several others of the bishops fled; the remainder had too ardent aspirations for preferment, to oppose the views of the court; and the introduction of sixteen new bishops, to replace those who had voluntarily or forcibly been expelled from their sees, composed a bench little disposed to counteract the designs of the queen.

Such was the impatience of Bonner to conform to the ancient ritual, that previous to the royal assent being given to the bill for its restoration, he introduced it, together with public processions, into the church. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, who had possessed the see of London during the deprivation of Bonner in the former reign, and who was one of the most distinguished leaders of the reformation, were dispatched to Oxford under

under the pretence of maintaining a public disputation upon the controverted points; but the debate was accompanied by such indecent clamour, that their arguments were scarcely to be heard, and the committee of convocation condemned them as obstinate heretics, and unworthy members of the church. A similar farce was intended to have been performed at Cambridge; but the deposed bishops refused to proceed to any disputation, except they were permitted to defend their opinions either in writing, in the presence of the queen and council, or before one of the parliamentary tribunals. They professed, however, at the same time their obedience to all the lawful commands of the queen.

In the third parliament of Mary, in 1554, the queen obtained a reversal of the attainder passed by her father against cardinal Pole, who in the quality of legate from the holy see exhorted the queen and the parliament to return to the sheep-fold of the church. Both houses of parliament agreed to an address to the queen and her husband, to intercede with the legate, and through his mediation to effect their reconciliation with the Romish see. All laws passed against papal authority were repealed, public rejoicings took place, and Pole bestowed upon the whole nation a plenary absolution. The state of religion therefore, on the whole, now was reverted to that in which it appeared in the former part of the reign of Henry VIII.

The next measure to be considered was that re-

specting the treatment of heretics ; and the different dispositions of the more gentle and politic cardinal, and of the proud and intemperate chancellor, occasioned considerable difficulties. Pole conceived that the most effectual mode to extirpate heresy was to commence by an entire reformation of the manners of the clergy, whose ill-conduct, and ignorance were a reproach upon their doctrines, and in general the cause of heresy. Gardiner thought the strict execution of the laws against the heretics the best remedy that could be applied ; and the queen, too earnest to accomplish the end, to be solicitous about the means, was desirous to adopt both projects at the same time. No sooner had the parliament risen than a solemn procession took place, in which Bonner presided, carrying the host, and a number of bishops and priests followed, returning public thanksgivings to God for having permitted a reconciliation between the people of England and the apostolic see. This ceremony gave so much satisfaction to the court, that it was appointed to be annually celebrated, and was denominated the *Feast of the Reconciliation*.

The meditated persecution soon after took place, and several eminent persons were condemned to the stake. These cruel executions had their customary effects ; they united the interests of the persecuted party, and excited the censures of the moderate. Gardiner, alarmed for the consequences, resigned the management of these affairs to the
fierce

fierce and sanguinary Bonner. Every circumstance of aggravated cruelty was inflicted upon the unhappy victims, and humanity recoils from the relation of their sufferings. The zealous queen restored to the clergy all the lands of which they had been deprived by her predecessors, and animated Bonner in his efforts for the extirpation of heresy. The bigotry and austerity of Mary had been increased by her adoption of Spanish counsels, and her natural peevishness was increased by her losing all hopes of producing a successor to the crown, and by the desertion of her husband, the unworthy Philip. The only alleviation, of which her melancholy appeared susceptible, arose from the destruction of the reformed party, and the restoration of several of the religious houses. Sixty-seven of the reformers suffered in the year 1555, at the stake, amongst whom was the virtuous Ridley, and the aged Latimer, whose primitive simplicity of character was a tacit reproach upon the luxury and false refinements of the Romish clergy.

The ruin of the chief of the reformed party in England had been previously resolved, yet the life of the illustrious Cranmer was spared till the year 1556. The utmost ingenuity of malice was employed to ridicule and increase the sufferings under which he laboured; and the credit in which he stood with the reformed party both at home and abroad made his opponents extremely desirous to procure a change in his opinions. For this purpose
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every effort was employed to produce a recantation of his sentiments; and, unfortunately for the peace of that short portion of life which remained to him, Cranmer, in a fit of weakness or of terror, signed his abjuration of the new opinions. The inhuman queen had, however, determined upon his destruction, but the knowledge of her intentions was concealed from the destined victim. Cranmer, however, immediately repented, with great anguish of mind; of the compliance into which he had been betrayed, and composed a confession of faith according to the real dictates of his conscience. He was condemned to the stake; and when taken from his prison to the church previous to his execution, he discovered the utmost agitation, and expressed extreme remorse for having in a weak and unguarded moment been tempted to relinquish those principles for which he was willing to sacrifice his life. He was desirous to proceed in his exhortations to the people; but he was hurried to the stake, where he endured his severe sufferings with unshaken constancy, and appeared particularly desirous to expiate his fault by voluntarily exposing his right hand to the flames till it dropped off, repeatedly exclaiming, "This unworthy hand!"

Thus perished the distinguished leader of the English reformation, whose virtues and talents would have conferred dignity on a less important cause. His death was the prelude to several others. The principles of reformation were, however

ever suppressed, very far from extinguished, and several secret meetings were held amongst the party, who continued to be supplied with books for their instruction and edification from their friends in Germany. Seventy-nine unhappy sufferers expiated the crime of heresy at the stake in 1557, and several more in the following year; great numbers died in prison; and the collective number of those who perished for the faith during these unhappy transactions amounted to above six hundred persons, of whom five were bishops, and twenty-one ministers. The graves were even summoned to surrender the guilty dead. Martin Bucer, and Fagius, two German divines who had been invited into England by Edward VI. were cited to appear and give an account of their faith; but as they had been interred some years before, they did not appear, and this contumacy was punished by their bodies being taken up, hanged, and then consumed to ashes.

The death of Mary in 1558 was received with despondence by the papal party, and with equal joy by the friends to reformation. The opinions of Elizabeth her successor respecting religion were well known: her legitimacy, and consequently her claim to the throne, depended upon the invalidity of her father's marriage with Catharine of Arragon; she was therefore both from political and religious motives an enemy to the papal power, and attached to the reformation. One of the first mea-

sures

asures taken by Elizabeth was to notify her accession to the foreign courts, and amongst others to that of Rome. The pope, however, received her ambassadors with great haughtiness, and refused to acknowledge her title to the throne upon any other terms than a submission to the apostolic see. To that authority the queen was on every account determined not to submit, and it was resolved by her council that she should take the advice of parliament concerning the measures which might be most efficacious for opposing his influence against her in foreign courts.

Every measure pursued by the new queen predicted the destruction of the papal party. Public disputations on the controverted points were once more commanded, and probably were terminated in their usual way, leaving each party rather confirmed than altered in their original opinion. The book of Common Prayer was again revised, and introduced into the churches; and the abbey lands, restored by Mary, were again resumed by the crown. The oath respecting the queen's supremacy was, however, rejected by many of the bishops: but the greater part of them remained quietly in England after the deprivation of their sees; and the character of Elizabeth derives one of its brightest rays from the policy or the clemency with which she permitted the unmolested departure of all who desired leave to retire into other countries, and the moderation with which all abuses were suppressed,
and

and all alterations introduced. The Bible underwent another translation, which was completed in three years; and the doctrines of the reformation were declared those of the English church, which from the reign of Henry VIII. had changed its faith no less than four times. The reformed party in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, were powerfully assisted by Elizabeth, who was left at sufficient leisure to attend to their concerns by the submission with which the English catholics received all the innovations she introduced. Her lenity, though in fact only the dictate of justice, yet, contrasted with the violence of her predecessor, demanded their gratitude. The monks who had been dispossessed of their monasteries had been assigned pensions, which were to be paid by the possessors of the forfeited lands. These payments were, however, neglected; and this unhappy fraternity, who had been educated in solitude and ignorance, were starving in old age, disregarded by the protestants, and too numerous to find relief from those of their own persuasion. In this exigency their wants were relieved by Elizabeth; she commanded that their pensions should be paid with punctuality and justice, and satisfaction be made for all arrears unjustly detained.

The dependence of so considerable a country as England upon the see of Rome was a circumstance too flattering to the vanity, and too gratifying to the avarice of that court, to be easily relinquished.

Pius

Pius IV. therefore no sooner ascended the papal chair, than, condemning the arrogance of his predecessor, he made several overtures for a reconciliation with Elizabeth, and proposed to concede to the English the ritual they approved, and the use of the communion in both kinds, on condition that the queen should acknowledge her subjection to the Roman see. This she refused. His successor Pius V. was much less moderate, and is accused of having instigated several attempts against the life of Elizabeth. These, and the designs of the king of Spain to invade her dominions, together with the endeavours made use of by the catholic priests to seduce her subjects from their allegiance, form some excuse for the departure of the queen from those sentiments of moderation which had distinguished and illumined the commencement of her reign. It is with concern and regret that posterity will regard the dawn of so bright a day clouded by a degree of severity towards her opponents in religion, which, however necessary from the peculiar difficulty and delicacy of her situation, the friends of humanity cannot cease to lament.

C H A P. V.

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND, IRELAND, THE
LOW COUNTRIES, &c.

Doctrines received in the reign of James V. persecuted—Deaths of Hamilton, Seton, and Forest—Cardinal Beaton—Court of Inquisition—Death of James—Earl of Arran favours the Reformation—Retractions—Persecution—Murder of the Cardinal—John Knox—Regent surrenders his power—First Covenant—Duplicity of the Queen Dowager—Reformation established at Perth—Second Covenant—Perfidy of the Queen Dowager—Hostilities—Third Covenant—Contests with the Queen Dowager—Expulsion of the Regent—Perplexities—Fourth Covenant—Death of the Queen Dowager—Peace proclaimed—Completion of the Reformation—State of Ireland, Holland, Italy, Spain, and France.

THE opinions which had been propagated by Luther in Germany, were soon extended to Scotland, which in common with the other nations in Europe had long groaned under the papal yoke. The reformation doctrines were received by considerable numbers in that country during the reign of James V. and political causes contributed to their extension. This monarch wished to humble the nobility, and for this purpose sought the support of the clergy; and the nobles, who envied the power of the sacerdotal order, were, in opposition to the

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the crown, additionally disposed to give their weight to the people. The new opinions were therefore favourably received by many persons of superior rank, by some of whom they had been imbibed in Germany, and were persecuted by James and the clergy with implacable fury. Patrick Hamilton, the young and virtuous abbot of Ferne, was executed at the stake for his attachment to the reformed doctrines. They were recommended, however, by Seton the king's confessor, who saved his life by a precipitate flight. A benedictine friar of the name of Forest was in the year 1533 detected in the crime of defending the opinions of Hamilton, and the belief of his heresy was confirmed by an English bible which was found in his possession; and for these misdemeanors he was, after public trial, condemned to the flames. His death was succeeded by that of several others for a similar offence.

Amongst the most active opposers of reformation in Scotland was the crafty and profligate cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews. Perceiving that confiscations and imprisonment had little effect in suppressing the reformed doctrines, the cardinal, in conjunction with the other clergy, persuaded James to institute an inquisitorial court; and the sanguinary Hamilton, brother to the earl of Arran, was appointed president, with the power of summoning to his tribunal all who were suspected of heresy. The powers of this detestable en-

gine of tyranny were however almost immediately suspended by an accusation of high treason being preferred against the president; and after his execution the project died away. During these transactions the Scotch reformers were encouraged by Henry VIII. who, from political motives, earnestly endeavoured to secure the assistance of James; but his projects were opposed by the intrigues of the Scottish clergy, and a war ensued between the respective kingdoms, in which the Scottish forces were completely routed, and the monarch soon afterwards expired in anguish and despair. Mary, his only legitimate successor, was born but a short time previous to the death of James, and the earl of Arran, her nearest male relation, was appointed regent. Arran was well known to favour the new opinions, his name had been placed at the head of a very large list of heretics which had been presented by the clergy to the late king; and the gentle and unassuming manners, which accompanied the first measures of his regency, still more conciliated the love of the people. All the points in dispute between the popish and reformed churches were openly exposed by the protestant divines, some of whom were invited to reside in his house. The Bible was translated into the vulgar tongue, and various publications, exposing the tyranny and absurdities of the Romish church, were diffused throughout the kingdom. The intrigues of cardinal Beaton and the clergy, and his own impru-

dence soon however effected the unpopularity of the regent, who, alarmed at the prospect of his declining power, united himself to the interests and views of the queen dowager, publicly abjured his opinions, and received absolution from the cardinal.

Beaton, who under the title of lord-chancellor swayed the councils of the Scotch, openly opposed an alliance with England, and favoured all the views of the queen dowager, who in her turn implicitly submitted to the directions of her brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guise. This political confederacy had an immediate tendency to check the progress of reformation. The preachers whom the regent had invited to impugn the doctrines of the church were discharged; several zealous adherents to the reformation were driven into England, and an act passed for rigorous proceedings against the heretics. The cardinal, who had obtained from the pope the dignity of *legate a latere**, made a visitation in great form through his diocese. This was the signal of persecution. Great numbers suffered, amongst whom was the learned, the candid, the virtuous George Wishart, who after a precipitate trial was adjudged to the flames. The cardinal and the court beheld with

* The legates *a latere* were always chosen from the college of cardinals, and next to the pope had the fullest ecclesiastical authority. A simple legate was merely an ambassador from the pope, and confined by particular instructions.

triumph

triumph the cruel death of the unhappy sufferers. The clergy poured in their congratulations, but the people, disgusted with the immoderate power which had been assumed, were soon induced to join in a conspiracy against the haughty and exulting cardinal. With Norman Lesley, the eldest son of the earl of Rothes, at their head, they entered the castle of St. Andrew's and murdered him. The conspirators immediately dispatched messengers to solicit the assistance of Henry, who hastened to collect troops ; while the regent applied for succours to the French. During these transactions, the regent attacked the castle of St. Andrew's, which had been fortified by the conspirators ; his attempt was, however, without success ; the besieged received by sea assistance from England, and the favourers of the reformation daily increased. The celebrated John Knox entered the castle, and with the other preachers, under the protection of the conspirators, preached the reformed doctrines with a freedom of language before unknown.

A navy dispatched from France enabled the regent to vanquish the conspirators, who were carried into France, and used with cruelty in defiance of a particular treaty ; some were confined in prison, and others, amongst whom was John Knox, sent to the galleys. During the succeeding contests in Scotland between the English, the French, and the Scotch, a relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline prevailed, which was favourable to the cause of reformation.

mation. No sooner however was a peace declared, than the regent, now left at leisure to attend to the affairs of the church, punished Adam Wallace for heresy; and an act passed for forfeiting to the crown the moveable goods of all excommunicated persons. The severity of the regent towards the reformers was sensibly felt in a circuit which he made through the kingdom in company with the queen dowager.

He had fully entered into the projects of the house of Guise for promoting an union between the young queen and the dauphin, and his acquiescence had been procured, or rewarded by the title of duke of Chatelherault. His conduct had, however, rendered him obnoxious to every party, and every rank, who beheld with pleasure the surrender of his power into the hands of the queen dowager, who was invested with the regency in the year 1553. Five years afterwards the young queen was married to the dauphin.

The reformed party received a considerable accession at this period from the English fugitives, who, alarmed at the accession of Mary to the English throne, took refuge in Scotland. Knox, who had returned from France, made a circuit through Scotland, preaching in energetic terms the doctrines of the reformation. He was entertained in his progress by several of the nobility and gentry, who partook with him in the ordinances of religion after the reformed method. Religious assemblies were held in defiance of the church, and celebrated

preachers were solicited to officiate in particular districts and towns. Knox was cited to appear before the clergy at Edinburgh, and went there accompanied by a number of gentlemen who were interested in his cause. They however did not proceed in his prosecution, and the zealous reformer courageously inculcated his doctrines in the capital of the kingdom. His arguments and his energy occasioned a great accession to his cause, amongst whom was the lord Marishal, who, conjointly with the earl of Glencairn, persuaded Knox to address the queen regent upon the subject of the reformation, by whom however his letter was received with disdain. During these transactions he received an invitation to take charge of the English church at Geneva. The clergy after his departure cited him to appear before them, and after condemning him as a heretic, ordered him to be burned in effigy.

The measures pursued against Knox prevented not the exertions of other preachers. Councils and conventions of the protestants were regularly held, the ardour of the populace was inflamed, and the priests were treated with indecent ridicule. Images, crucifixes, and relics, were stolen from the churches; and the efforts of the bishops and the queen were insufficient to prevent the repetition of the meetings and measures of the reformed party. They were supported by several noblemen, and by degrees they assumed a less irregular form, and added policy and address to their zeal and arguments.

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Animated by the letters of Knox, they formally subscribed an agreement entitled *The First Covenant*, in which they solemnly rejected the superstitions and idolatry of the Romish church, and devoted their lives and fortunes to the support of their cause.

After the subscription of the first covenant, the leaders of the reformation endeavoured to procure the return of Knox into Scotland, and solicited the assistance of Calvin to persuade him to revisit his native country. Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose inclinations were naturally pacific, was incited by the failure of his endeavours to effect the downfall of the new opinions by gentleness, to recur to violence. The venerable Walter Mill was the first victim of this persecution; and the people, exasperated to fury by the execution of this martyr to the faith, entered into public subscriptions for mutual defence, and their vehemence was encouraged by the leaders of the protestant party. Reformation was loudly demanded on every hand, and the chiefs of the party presented a supplication to the queen dowager, in which they stated their grievances, enlarged upon their moderation, and besought the restoration of christianity in its original purity. The queen dowager was embarrassed with these demands, which in the present factious state of the kingdom it was equally dangerous to oppose or encourage. She therefore adopted an indecisive conduct, and while she allowed the protestants the use of the prayers and religious exercises

cises in the vulgar tongue, requested that they would hold no public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith. The congregation (the name now assumed by the Scotch protestants) were gratified by the concessions they had obtained from the queen dowager, and quietly but steadily proceeded in their plan. Several ineffective schemes for agreement were proposed between the Romish and reformed parties, and the congregation applied for redress to the parliament; but the delusive conduct of the queen dowager prevented their address from being presented. They then presented a formidable protest against the measures for opposing reformation.

On the dissolution of parliament, the artifices of the queen regent towards the reformation were fully manifested. Every honour was conferred upon the popish party, and every indignity offered to the members of the congregation. The queen regent fully threw off the mask of moderation, but she was soon mortified by the information that the reformation was established at Perth. In vain she enjoined the suppression of these novelties, or the apprehension of one of the preachers with whom she was particularly offended; and in vain did she issue her command for the ancient observance of Easter. Citations were issued to the preachers to appear at Stirling: they advanced, attended by their protestant friends; and the queen, struck with their unanimity, and dreading their power, entreated that their march might be stopped, and promised

to drop the proceedings against them. Allured by this promise, the preachers failed to appear at Stirling on the day of citation, and were declared rebels, and all persons were prohibited from affording them comfort and assistance. This violation of faith produced distrust and terror of the civil power in every rank, and the reformers were urged to the most desperate extremities.

In this situation of affairs, Knox arrived in Scotland: he ascended the pulpit at Perth, forcibly and eloquently exposed the errors of the church; and the populace, animated by his discourses, eagerly proceeded to destroy all the objects of idolatrous worship. The images, relics, and altars were destroyed with ungovernable fury, and the monasteries were involved in a similar fate. The queen invited the nobility to join in punishing the insurgents, and collected the French troops to her assistance. The protestants professed their desire to obtain their object upon amicable terms, but declared their intention to repel force by force. They were joined by a considerable number, and formed a camp near Perth. After repeated negotiations a treaty was signed between the contending parties, in which, amongst other articles, it was agreed on the part of the queen, that no persecutions of the reformed party should be undertaken, and that reformation should be finally established in the approaching assembly of the three estates. The protestant party strengthened their mutual attachment
by

by engaging, before their separation, in a new association, which was termed the *Second Covenant*.

The troops of the congregation were scarcely dispersed, before the queen regent violated the articles of the treaty, and seized the town of Perth. The earl of Argyle and lord James Stuart, who had negotiated the treaty under the authority of the queen, withdrew their allegiance and joined the Protestant party. The minds of the people were inflamed still further by the exhortations of the preachers, and particularly of Knox. Wherever he addressed the populace, they were animated with extreme fury, the monuments of idolatry were demolished, and the preacher, boldly obtaining the possession of the pulpit of St. Andrew's, exhorted his disciples to action against the enemies of the church of Christ; the churches were instantly divested of their grandeur, and the monasteries levelled with the ground.

Each party immediately prepared for action: but intimidated by the formidable appearance of the congregation troops and the apprehension of a mutiny amongst the soldiers, the queen instructed the duke of Chatelherault, who led the Scottish soldiers, to treat for a peace. The congregation, allured by the promises of the queen, again agreed to a truce, and were again deluded. They retook Perth, burned the abbey and palace of Scone, and ravaged Stirling.

The congregation next proceeded to Edinburgh,
whence

whence the regent precipitately retreated to Dunbar. After repeated negotiations she returned; the congregation then retreated in their turn, and a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that her palace and the instruments of coinage should be restored, and that the Protestants should abstain from violence, and the regent agreed to suffer the free profession of the reformed religion amongst all her subjects, and that no Scotch or French mercenaries should be stationed in the town. Still however, doubtful of the faith of the regent, they entered into a still closer agreement, which they denominated the *Third Covenant*. Their union was indeed a measure of much importance: the most pertinacious obstinacy was shewn by the regent to the cause of the Romish church; and the appearance of a considerable body of French troops, which had been sent by Francis and Mary, who had ascended the French throne, to her assistance, excited a general alarm. The duke of Chatelherault and the earl of Arran his son joined the congregation. Mutual manifestoes were circulated, and the congregation again marched to Edinburgh; the regent returned to the protection of the French troops stationed at Leith, which she had fortified, and the nobles of the reformed party expostulated with her upon this fortification, and her unconstitutional introduction of foreign troops. The queen refused to destroy the fortifications, or to disband the troops, and commanded the lords to
leave

leave Edinburgh. This insult towards the natural counsellors and legislators of the realm produced an edict from the nobility, barons, and burgesſes, which removed the regent from the adminiſtration of government.

The confederated nobles now attempted to enter Leith, but were repulſed; and their affairs, from the intrigues of the queen dowager, and the want of money, fell into much perplexity. They beſought aid from England, but the ſum required fell into the hands of the queen's party. They were haraſſed by the French troops, many ſilently withdrew, others fled with precipitation, and the aſſociated nobles in a panic abandoned the capital and fled to Stirling. They were animated to hope by the exhortations of Knox, and it was determined to ſolicit the aid of Elizabeth of England, who, exaſperated on many accounts againſt the court of France, promiſed her aſſiſtance. The lords of the congregation, in order to ſupport the cauſe, ſeparated into different parts of the kingdom; and the duke of Chatelherault, who took up his abode at Glaſgow, publiſhed a proclamation under the authority that the reformed leaders were a council acting for Francis and Mary, and commanded the officers of the crown, in the name of the king and queen of Scots, to charge ſuch of the clergy as had not joined the congregation, to appear before them to teſtify their converſion from popery, under pain of being accounted enemies to God, and the

the deprivation of their revenues, which were to be applied to the support of the preachers of the gospel. This violence inflamed the passions of the popish party, and it was followed by an order for stopping the convention of any ecclesiastical courts for enforcing the laws against heretics.

Upon the dispersion of the confederated lords, the queen dowager took possession of Edinburgh, and restored there the service of the church of Rome. She solicited fresh assistance from the court of France, and determined to destroy the congregation before the arrival of the English succours. Her first attempts were successful, but the progress of her troops was impeded by the intrepidity and sagacity of lord James Stuart, though with a very inferior army. He was at length compelled to retire; the French army proceeded to St. Andrew's, but in the moment of elation were surprised with the arrival of the English troops. The French precipitately retired to Leith. The queen dowager was still more bitterly disappointed by the failure of her expectations from France; her party dwindled, and those of the Scottish nobles who affected neutrality meditated an union with the Protestants. The Scots were called upon to assemble in arms, and expel the French. The English troops joined the congregation. The queen dowager in this extremity retired to Edinburgh castle accompanied by a few domestics. There she received a letter from the congregation expressive
of

of their respect, justifying their measures, and requiring the queen once more to dismiss the mercenary troops with their officers and captains. The queen evaded a direct answer. The congregation proceeded to Leith, and several fell on both sides without a decisive victory. The grand object for which the congregation contended was brought more fully into the public view by the *Fourth Covenant*, which was entered into by the whole party with peculiar solemnity. They agreed to expel from the realm all foreigners as oppressors of public liberty, and professed their desire to live under due obedience to their king and queen, and be ruled by the laws of their country, and by officers born and educated among them. The queen dowager received the intelligence of this association with extreme sorrow, which was augmented by the continual distresses which attended her troops at Leith; and, wasted by grief and disease, she expired in the castle of Edinburgh.

The situation of France required an exemption from foreign wars, but Francis and Mary conceived it derogatory to their dignity to treat with the congregation, and applied to Elizabeth to effect a reconciliation with the confederated lords. The commissioners to Elizabeth were empowered, conjointly with the commissioners of that queen, to hear and to relieve the complaints of the congregation. The congregation, on their part, appointed

appointed commissioners to state their grievances and specify their demands. The English and French plenipotentiaries drew up a deed, in which several points relating to civil liberty were gained to the people, and it was determined to establish a full act of oblivion. The subject of the reformation was referred to the ensuing meeting of parliament. Peace was proclaimed, and preachers appointed to teach regularly in the principal towns of the kingdom.

Upon the meeting of parliament, the protestants presented their confession of faith, which was publicly read, and the Romish divines were commanded to state their objections. None were made, and the parliament examined and ratified the confession which had been presented. An act against the mass soon ensued; the authority of the pope was annulled; and nothing remained to the protestant party but to obtain the ratification of these transactions from Francis and Mary. This was however refused, but the parliament protected its own acts, and popery was completely destroyed in Scotland. The death of Francis removed the most formidable enemy to their measures, and the Scottish church soon assumed a regular and permanent form.

The cause of the reformation underwent in Ireland the same vicissitudes and revolutions, which had attended it in England. When Henry VIII.
after

after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared supreme head, upon earth, of the church of England, George Brown, a native of England, and a monk of the Augustin order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of Dublin, began to act with the utmost vigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and, by the influence as well as authority which he possessed in Ireland, caused the king's supremacy to be acknowledged in that nation. Henry demonstrated soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of Edward VI. still farther progress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of archbishop Brown, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in Ireland, as it had already done in England. The reign of Elizabeth, however, gave a new and deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force, and arming itself once more with the authority of the throne; and the
Irish

Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in England*.

The reformation had not been long established in Britain, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy, which still subsists, withdrew from their spiritual allegiance to the pope. Philip II. king of Spain, apprehending the danger to which the religion of Rome was exposed from that spirit of liberty and independence which prevailed among the inhabitants of the Low Countries, adopted the most violent measures to dispel it. For this purpose he augmented the number of the bishops, enacted the most severe laws against all innovations in matters of religion, and erected that unjust and inhuman tribunal of the inquisition. But his measures, in this respect, were as unsuccessful as they were absurd; his furious and intemperate zeal for the superstitions of Rome accelerated their destruction, and the papal authority, which had only been in a critical state, was reduced to desperation, by the very steps which were designed to support it. The nobility formed themselves into an association, in the year 1566, with a view to procure the repeal of these tyrannical and barbarous edicts; but their solicitations and requests

* See the Life of Dr. George Brown, archbishop of Dublin, published at London in 4to. in the year 1681, and which has been re-printed in the fifth volume of the Harleian Miscellany, No. lxxix.

being

being treated with contempt, they resolved to obtain by force what they hoped to have gained from clemency and justice. They addressed themselves to a free and an oppressed people, spurned his abused authority, and, with an impetuosity and vehemence which were perhaps excessive, trampled upon whatever was held sacred or respectable by the church of Rome. To quell these tumults, a powerful army was sent from Spain, under the command of the duke of Alva, whose unprecedented and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the United Provinces derived its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, seconded by the assistance of England and France, which delivered this state from the Spanish yoke; and no sooner was this deliverance obtained, than the reformed religion, as it was professed in Switzerland, was established in the United Provinces*; and, at the same time, an universal toleration was granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of Rome, or embraced the reformation in another form, provided still that they made no attempts against the authority of the government, or the tranquillity of the public.

The reformation made a considerable progress in Italy and Spain soon after the rupture between

* In the year 1573.

Luther and the Pope. In all the provinces of Italy, but more especially in the territories of Venice, Tuscany, and Naples, the religion of Rome lost ground, and great numbers of persons of all ranks and orders expressed an aversion to the papal dominion. Violent and dangerous commotions were consequently excited in the kingdom of Naples, in the year 1546, of which the principal authors were Bernard Ochino and Peter Martyr, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of Charles V. and his viceroy Don Pedro di Toledo*. In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the reformation, by letting loose the inquisitors upon the pretended heretics, who spread the marks of their usual cruelty through the greater part of Italy. These formidable ministers of superstition put so many to death, and perpetrated, on the friends of religious liberty, such acts of oppression, that most of the reformists consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others returned to the religion of Rome, at least in external appearance. But the horrors of the inquisition, which had terrified back into the profession of popery several protestants in

* See Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 198. Vita Galeacii in *Museo Helvetico*, tom. ii. p. 524.

other parts of Italy, could not penetrate into the kingdom of Naples, nor could either the authority or entreaties of the pope engage the Neapolitans to admit within their territories either a court of inquisition, or even visiting inquisitors.

The eyes of several persons in Spain were opened upon the truth, not only by the spirit of inquiry, which the controversies between Luther and Rome had excited in Europe, but even by those very divines whom Charles V. had brought with him into Germany, to combat the pretended heresy of the reformers. For these Spanish divines imbibed instead of refuting this heresy, and propagated it more or less, on their return home, as appears evidently from several circumstances*. But the inquisition, which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of Naples, reigned triumphant in Spain; and by racks, gibbets, and stakes, and other such formidable instruments of persuasion, soon terrified

* This is obvious from the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics who had attended Charles V. and followed him into his retirement. No sooner was the breath of this monarch extinguished, than they were put into the inquisition, and were afterwards committed to the flames, or sent to death in other forms equally terrible. Such was the fate of Augustin Casal, the emperor's preacher; of Constantine Pontius, his confessor; of the learned Egedius, whom he had nominated to the bishopric of Tortosa; of Bartholomew de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been confessor to king Philip and queen Mary, with above twenty more of less note. All this gave countenance to the suspicion that Charles V. died a protestant. See Burnet's History of the Reformation, and the book cited in the following note.

the people back into popery*; and that kingdom still deplores the gloomy reign of ignorance and superstition, with the total extinction of civil and religious liberty.

But it was in France that the reformed religion underwent the most cruel vicissitudes, and felt most severely the arm of civil power. The religion of Francis I. if an abandoned profligate can be said to possess any religion, was of the most bigoted species; and by his zeal for the church, he perhaps flattered himself that he could in some degree compensate for the shameless immorality of his life. The flames of persecution were lighted up, during his unquiet reign, through every province of France; and though the zeal of the monarch was sometimes tempered by the gentle interference of his amiable sister the queen of Navarre, and the exigencies of the times, still it occasionally recurred with fresh vigour, as caprice, or the dictates of his spiritual guide the cardinal de Tournou, directed; and innumerable martyrs, eminent for virtue and learning, were daily exposed to tortures and to death.

In the mountains of Languedoc and Provence there still existed some remains of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, the miserable remnants of the memorable crusade which had been too successfully excited against them. These simple and virtuous

* See Geddes, his *Spanish Martyrology*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. i. p. 445.

people had, in 1532, formed a kind of union with the reformed churches in Switzerland; but in 1545 they were selected as the victims of superstitious fury. Whole villages, particularly Merindol and Cabrieres, were exterminated by the catholics; and so dreadful was the slaughter, that it is even said to have afflicted Francis on his death-bed with the most poignant remorse.

The successor of Francis, Henry II. while motives of policy induced him to take arms in defence of the protestants of Germany, still pursued in his own dominions the persecuting system of his father. Notwithstanding this, the progress of the protestant doctrines was rapid. Several bishops of the Gallican church were strongly disposed in their favour; and they were openly embraced by Anthony of Bourbon king of Navarre, Lewis prince of Condé his brother, admiral Coligny, the duke de Rohan, and some others of the nobility.

During the feeble minority of the son of Henry, Francis II. the nation fell under the arbitrary government of two inflexible bigots, the dukes of Guise, uncles to the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots, who was wife to Francis II. Their conduct however proved so oppressive and obnoxious, that the famous league or conspiracy of Amboise was formed by the protestant nobles for the purpose of wresting the power out of the hands of this arrogant and intolerant family; but the plan being

unfortunately discovered, the leaders barely escaped with their lives.

Charles IX. succeeded Francis; and during his reign, the jealousy of the two parties, which had hitherto been restrained within moderate bounds, broke out into a flame. The first act of violence was the massacre of sixty persons of the reformed church, at Vassy in Champagne, during the time of divine service, by the duke of Guise and his army. A violent civil war ensued, in the course of which the duke of Guise lost his life by the hands of an assassin, and dying, advised the queen-mother to agree to the peace which soon followed, and granted to the reformed the free exercise of their religion. An ill compacted peace served but to smother for a season the zeal of the contending parties. A series of wars and persecutions succeeded, which would be tedious to detail. They were concluded at length by the fallacious treaty of 1570, which served only to cover the diabolical project, which Charles and the catholic party had formed for the extermination of the new opinions.

A marriage being concluded, in 1572, between the young king of Navarre (afterwards the famous Henry IV.) and Margaret, the sister of Charles IX. the Hugonots * were invited from all parts of the

* The reformed, or French protestants, began to be distinguished by this appellation about 1561. The term is derived, according

the kingdom to the celebration of the nuptials. On the bloody festival of St. Bartholomew, a signal was given to a party of desperate assassins, headed by the house of Guise, and they furiously attacked the Hugonots in every quarter of the city. The first victim was the admiral Coligny. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé escaped with difficulty by a pretended abjuration of their religion. The same tragedy was acted, by secret orders from the king, in all the principal cities of France, and upwards of 30,000 martyrs were sacrificed to superstition and intolerance *.

The Hugonots, though disheartened, were not destroyed by this unhappy transaction. They recovered their strength and their vigour before the succeeding campaign, and carried on the war with such spirit, that they forced the bigoted monarch to grant them terms still more favourable than they had obtained by any former treaty. On the death of Charles IX. his brother Henry III. succeeded, and the necessity of his affairs obliged him to grant terms very favourable to the Hugonots. At the instigation of the pope, the catholics now formed, in contempt of the royal authority, the according to some, from a gate in Tours called *Hugon*, where it is said they first assembled; and according to others, from the first words of their original protest, or confession of faith — *Huc nos venimus, &c.*

* Du Pin passes over this bloody and perfidious business in a few words, and the manner in which he treats it shews a laudable shame in that candid and generally accurate writer.

celebrated association called the *League*, the professed object of which was the extirpation of heresy. This combination, however, had a further aim, and was in reality founded on the ambition of the house of Guise to raise itself to the throne of France. So dangerous a combination therefore demanded some exertion on the part of the king; and it is only to be lamented, that he did not oppose it by more justifiable measures. He caused the two heads of the league, Henry duke of Guise, and the cardinal his brother, to be assassinated at the states of Blois; and soon after, in 1589, he himself experienced the same fate; as he was approaching to lay siege to Paris, which was retained by the catholic party, he was stabbed in his tent by an emissary of the leaguers.

The family of Valois ceased in Henry III. and the right of succession centred in Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, who assumed the title of Henry IV. The obstinacy of the catholic party, who still maintained the league, withheld this great statesman and able commander for upwards of four years from the possession of his hereditary dignities. Henry at length, however, made a final sacrifice of conscience to ambition. He publicly abjured the reformed religion in 1593, and by that step gained possession of the throne. By the famous edict of Nantz, which was termed a *perpetual* and *inviolable* edict, he however secured to his old friends, the Hugonots, the undisturbed exercise
of

of their religion, and perfect liberty of conscience. And thus ended these religious disturbances, which had divided the kingdom of France for a considerable part of the sixteenth century*.

Though the great body of protestants proceeded with unanimity in the principal object of abolishing the superstition and tyranny of the church of Rome, there did not exist among them that perfect harmony and consistence with respect to doctrinal points, which might be expected from persons actuated by the love of truth, and professing to derive their information from the same source. Between the fathers of the reformation, Luther and Zuinglius, there existed almost from the first a considerable difference of sentiment, concerning the nature of the holy sacrament. Luther rejected the popish doctrine of transubstantiation; but unfortunately, not able to free himself at once from all the fetters of prejudice, instead of wholly discarding the absurdity, he attempted to new-model it. Though he rejected the opinion of the entire change of the elements by consecration, he held nevertheless that the body and blood of Christ are still *materially* present in the consecrated elements; and this union of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and wine is by the Lutheran church expressed by the intermediate term consubstantiation. Carlostadius, who was originally the coadjutor of Luther in the university of Wittem-

* Formey, Cent. xvi. Art. 5.

berg, and Zuinglius the celebrated Swiss reformer, began their mission under more favourable circumstances than Luther, and they adopted a system, which in their opinion was more consistent both with scripture and reason. They considered the consecrated elements merely as figures or symbols of the absent body of Christ, and regarded the rite itself as intended chiefly to preserve in our minds a pious remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, and a sense of our obligations to fulfil the gospel covenant. A real though spiritual presence was acknowledged by Calvin, and his doctrine, by his perseverance and industry, seems at length to have triumphed over every other in most of the reformed churches.

Other disputes arose between the followers of Luther and Calvin, concerning the nature of the divine decrees respecting man's salvation. The latter, it is well known, maintain with the utmost rigour the doctrines of election and predestination.

The point however, which proved the most essential in preventing a union between the parties, was the form of church government. The Lutherans admitted what they esteemed an apostolical ordinance, namely, a diversity in rank and precedence among the clergy: the Calvinists, more addicted to ecclesiastical republicanism, preferred that form of government which is termed presbyterian. They asserted that no order was instituted by Christ, superior to that of presbyter or pastor.

Each

Each church is therefore under the care of a minister or ministers, and ruling elders, chosen from among the congregation, subject to whom a deacon is elected for the purpose of administering to the poor. An assembly of the presbyters and elders is called a synod, and these are provincial, national, or œcumenical.

The church of England differs in some respects both from the Lutheran and Calvinistic tenets, as may easily be seen from a view of the thirty-nine articles, which are in the hands of almost every reader.

C H A P. VI.

OF THE OTHER SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE
[SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Causes for Variety of Opinion among the Reformers—Anabaptists, or Mennonites—Antinomians—Unitarians—Servetus—Socinians—Budneians—Farvoniens—Stancarians—Zuinglians—Schwenkfeldtians—Brownists—Illuminati—Familiists—Amsdorfiens—Ofandrians—Moliniists—Synexists.

IN the dark catalogue of heresies recorded by historians of the Romish communion, the opinions of Luther, Calvin and Zuinglius maintain a distinguished situation. Connected as they were with political events, they have already been sufficiently discussed. During the ardour of speculation which these religious contests occasioned, it would have been extraordinary, if, considering the different interests, views, prejudices, and passions, by which mankind are usually actuated, a perfect uniformity in point of doctrine and discipline had pervaded all who were desirous of being emancipated from the yoke of Rome. In the course of this century the Scriptures were translated into almost all the different languages of Europe. They would necessarily be read by men of different tempers,

pers, and of different attainments; and consequently (without even calling in the aid of that principle which impels mankind to render themselves eminent or distinguished) there are many motives which might create a difference of sentiment in the most impartial inquirers. Religious opinions, however distant from our own, are always objects of respect and veneration. It is not therefore with a design of casting a reflection upon the authors or professors of these opinions, but for the sake of order and perspicuity, that a distinction is observed in this history between those doctrines which became the established religion of different countries, and those which are professed only by small or subordinate societies, and that these societies are denominated *Sects*, or dissenters from the established creed.

It was observed that, in a very early period of the reformation, certain of the disciples of Luther, and particularly one of the name of Muncer, adopted opinions in some instances apparently replete with enthusiasm, and on some occasions proceeded to the disturbance of the public tranquillity. From these violent reformers proceeded the formidable sect of the Anabaptists. They first made their appearance in the provinces of Upper Germany, where the severity of the magistrates kept them under controul. But in the Netherlands and Westphalia, where the tendency of their opinions was more unknown, and guard-

ed against with less care, they obtained admittance into several towns, and spread the contagion of their principles. The most remarkable of their religious tenets related to the sacrament of baptism, which, as they contended, ought to be administered only to persons grown up to years of understanding, and should be performed not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it : for this reason they condemned the baptism of infants ; and rebaptizing all whom they admitted into their society, the sect came to be distinguished by the name of anabaptists. To this peculiar notion concerning baptism, which has the appearance of being founded on the practice of the church in the apostolic age, and contains nothing inconsistent with the peace and order of human society, they added other principles of a most enthusiastic as well as dangerous nature. They maintained that, among Christians who had the precepts of the gospel to direct, and the spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistracy was not only unnecessary, but an unlawful encroachment on their spiritual liberty ; that the distinctions occasioned by birth, or rank, or wealth, being contrary to the spirit of the gospel which considers all men as equal, should be entirely abolished ; that all Christians, throwing their possessions into one common stock, should live together in that state of equality which becomes members of the same family ; that as neither the laws of
nature,

nature, nor the precepts of the New Testament, had imposed any restraints upon men with regard to the number of wives which they might marry, they should use that liberty which God himself had granted to the patriarchs.

Such opinions, propagated and maintained with enthusiastic zeal and boldness, were not long without producing the violent effects natural to them. Two anabaptist prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem, and John Boccold, or Beükels, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, possessed with the rage of making proselytes, fixed their residence at Munster, an imperial city of Westphalia, of the first rank, under the sovereignty of its bishop, but governed by its own senate and consuls. As neither of these fanatics wanted the talents requisite in desperate enterprises, great resolution, the appearance of sanctity, bold pretensions to inspiration, and a confident and plausible manner of discoursing, they soon gained many converts. Among these were Rothman, who had first preached the protestant doctrine in Munster, and Knipperdoling, a citizen of good birth and considerable eminence. Emboldened by the countenance of such disciples, they openly taught their opinions; and not satisfied with that liberty, they made several attempts, though without success, to become masters of the town, in order to get their tenets established by public authority. At last, having secretly called in their associates from the neigh-

neighbouring country, they suddenly took possession of the arsenal and senate-house in the night, and running through the streets with drawn swords, and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, "Repent, and be baptized," and "Depart, ye ungodly." The senators, the canons, the nobility, together with the more sober citizens, whether Papists or Protestants, terrified at their threats and outcries, fled in confusion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantic multitude, consisting chiefly of strangers. Nothing now remaining to overawe or controul them, they set about modelling the government according to their own wild ideas; and though at first they shewed so much reverence for the ancient constitution, as to elect senators of their own sect, and to appoint Knipperdoling and another profelyte consuls, this was nothing more than form; for all their proceedings were directed by Matthias, who, in the style, and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which it was instant death to disobey. Having begun with encouraging the multitude to pillage the churches, and deface their ornaments, he enjoined them to destroy all books except the Bible, as useless or impious; he ordered the estates of such as fled to be confiscated, and sold to the inhabitants of the adjacent country; he commanded every man to bring forth his gold, silver, and other precious effects, and to lay them at his feet: the wealth amassed by these means,

he deposited in a public treasury, and named deacons to dispense it for the common use of all. The members of this commonwealth being thus brought to a perfect equality, he commanded all of them to eat at tables prepared in public, and even prescribed the dishes which were to be served up each day. Having finished his plan of reformation, his next care was to provide for the defence of the city ; and he took measures for that purpose with a prudence which betrayed nothing of fanaticism. He collected large magazines of every kind ; he repaired and extended the fortifications, obliging every person without distinction to work in his turn ; he formed such as were capable of bearing arms into regular bodies, and endeavoured to add the stability of discipline to the impetuosity of enthusiasm. He sent emissaries to the Anabaptists in the Low Countries, inviting them to assemble at Munster, which he dignified with the name of Mount-Sion, that they might set out to reduce all the nations of the earth under their dominion. He himself was unwearied in attending to every thing necessary for the security or increase of the sect ; animating his disciples by his own example to decline no labour, as well as to submit to every hardship ; and their enthusiastic passions being kept from subsiding by a perpetual succession of exhortations, revelations, and prophecies, they seemed ready to undertake or to suffer any thing in maintenance of their opinions.

While they were thus employed, the bishop of Munster, having assembled a considerable army, advanced to besiege the town. On his approach, Matthias sallied out at the head of some chosen troops, attacked one quarter of his camp, forced it, and after great slaughter returned to the city loaded with glory and with spoil. Intoxicated with this success, he appeared next day brandishing a spear, and declared, that, in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth with a handful of men, and smite the host of the ungodly. Thirty persons, whom he named, followed him without hesitation in this wild enterprife, and, rushing on the enemy with a frantic courage, were cut off to a man. The death of their prophet occasioned at first great consternation among his disciples; but Boccold, by the same gifts and pretensions which had gained Matthias credit, soon revived their spirits and hopes to such a degree, that he succeeded the deceased prophet in the same absolute direction of all their affairs. As he did not possess that enterprising courage which distinguished his predecessor, he satisfied himself with carrying on a defensive war; and without attempting to annoy the enemy by sallies, he waited for the succours he expected from the Low Countries, the arrival of which was often foretold and promised by their prophets. But though less daring in action than Matthias, he was a wilder enthusiast, and of more unbounded ambition. Soon after the death of his
pre-

predecessor, having, by obscure visions and prophecies, prepared the multitude for some extraordinary event, he stripped himself naked, and marching through the streets, proclaimed with a loud voice, "That the kingdom of Sion was at hand; that whatever was highest on earth should be brought low, and whatever was lowest should be exalted." In order to fulfil this, he commanded the churches, as the most lofty buildings in the city, to be levelled with the ground; he degraded the senators chosen by Matthias, and depriving Knipperdoling of the consulship, the highest office in the commonwealth, appointed him to execute the lowest and most infamous, that of common hangman, to which strange transition the other agreed, not only without murmuring, but with the utmost joy; and such was the despotic rigour of Boccold's administration, that he was called almost every day to perform some duty or other of his wretched function. In place of the deposed senators, he named twelve judges, according to the number of tribes in Israel, to preside in all affairs; retaining to himself the same authority, which Moses anciently possessed as legislator of that people.

Not satisfied, however, with power or titles which were not supreme, a prophet, whom he had gained and tutored, having called the multitude together, declared it to be the will of God, that John Boccold should be king of Sion, and sit on the

throne of David. John, kneeling down, accepted of the heavenly call, which he solemnly protested had been revealed likewise to himself, and was immediately acknowledged as monarch by the deluded multitude. From that moment he assumed all the state and pomp of royalty. He wore a crown of gold, and was clad in the richest and most sumptuous garments. A bible was carried on his one hand, a naked sword on the other. A great body of guards accompanied him when he appeared in public. He coined money stamped with his own image, and appointed the great officers of his household and kingdom, among whom Knipperdoling was nominated governor of the city, as a reward for his former submission.

Having now attained the height of power, Boccold began to discover passions, which he had hitherto restrained, or indulged only in secret. As the excesses of enthusiasm have been observed in every age to lead to sensual gratifications, the same constitution that is susceptible of the former being remarkably prone to the latter, he instructed the prophets and teachers to harangue the people for several days, concerning the lawfulness and even necessity of taking more wives than one, which they asserted to be one of the privileges granted by God to the saints. When their ears were once accustomed to this licentious doctrine, and their passions inflamed with the prospect of such unbounded indulgence, he himself set them an ex-

ample of using what he called their Christian liberty, by marrying at once three wives, among whom the widow of Matthias, a woman of singular beauty, was one. As he was allured by beauty, or the love of variety, he gradually added to the number of his wives, until they amounted to fourteen, though the widow of Matthias was the only one dignified with the title of queen, or who shared with him the splendour and ornaments of royalty. After the example of their prophet, the multitude gave themselves up to the most licentious and uncontrouled gratification of their desires. No man remained satisfied with a single wife. Not to use their Christian liberty, was deemed a crime. Persons were appointed to search the houses for young women grown up to maturity, whom they instantly compelled to marry. Together with polygamy, freedom of divorce, its inseparable attendant, was introduced, and became a new source of corruption. Every excess was committed, of which the passions of men are capable, when restrained neither by the authority of laws nor the sense of decency; and by a monstrous and almost incredible conjunction, voluptuousness was engrafted on religion, and dissolute riot accompanied the austerities of fanatical devotion.

Meanwhile the German princes were highly offended at the insult offered to their dignity by Boccold's presumptuous usurpation of royal honours; and the profligate manners of his followers,

which were a reproach to the Christian name, filled men of all professions with horror. Luther, who had testified against this fanatical spirit on its first appearance, now deeply lamented its progress, and having exposed the delusion with great strength of argument, as well as acrimony of style, called loudly on all the states of Germany to put a stop to a phrensy no less pernicious to society, than fatal to religion. The emperor, occupied with other cares and projects, had not leisure to attend to such a distant object; but the princes of the empire, assembled by the king of the Romans, voted a supply of men and money to the bishop of Munster, who, being unable to keep a sufficient army on foot, had converted the siege of the town into a blockade. The forces raised in consequence of this resolution were put under the command of an officer of experience, who approaching the town towards the end of spring, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-five, pressed it more closely than formerly; but found the fortifications so strong, and so diligently guarded, that he durst not attempt an assault. It was now above fifteen months since the Anabaptists had established their dominion in Munster; they had during that time undergone prodigious fatigue in working on the fortifications, and performing military duty. Notwithstanding the prudent attention of their king to provide for their subsistence, and his frugal as well as regular œconomy

œconomy in their public meals, they began to feel the approach of famine. Several small bodies of their brethren, who were advancing to their assistance from the Low Countries, had been intercepted and cut to pieces ; and, while all Germany was ready to combine against them, they had no prospect of succour. But such was the ascendancy which Boccold had acquired over the multitude, and so powerful the fascination of enthusiasm, that their hopes were as sanguine as ever, and they hearkened with implicit credulity to the visions and predictions of their prophets, who assured them, that the Almighty would speedily interpose, in order to deliver the city. The faith, however, of some few, shaken by the violence and length of their sufferings, began to fail ; but being suspected of an inclination to surrender to the enemy, they were punished with immediate death, as guilty of impiety in distrusting the power of God. One of the king's wives having uttered certain words which implied some doubt concerning his divine mission, he instantly called the whole number together, and commanding the blasphemer, as he called her, to kneel down, cut off her head with his own hands ; and so far were the rest from expressing any horror at this cruel deed, that they joined him in dancing with a frantic joy around the bleeding body of their companion.

By this time the besieged endured the utmost rigour of famine ; but they chose rather to suffer

hardships, the recital of which is shocking to humanity, than to listen to the terms of capitulation offered them by the bishop. At last, a deserter, whom they had taken into their service, being either less intoxicated with the fumes of enthusiasm, or unable any longer to bear such distress, made his escape to the enemy. He informed their general of a weak part in the fortifications which he had observed; and assuring him that the besieged, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, kept watch there with little care, he offered to lead a party thither in the night. The proposal was accepted, and a chosen body of troops appointed for the service; who, scaling the walls unperceived, seized one of the gates, and admitted the rest of the army. The Anabaptists, though surprised, defended themselves in the market-place with valour, heightened by despair; but being overpowered by numbers, and surrounded on every hand, most of them were slain, and the remainder taken prisoners. Among the last were the king and Knipperdoling. The king, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a spectacle to gratify the curiosity of the people, and was exposed to all their insults. His spirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this sad reverse of his condition; and he adhered with unshaken firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his sect. After this, he was brought back to Munster, the scene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with the most exquisite as well as lingering

lingering tortures, all which he bore with astonishing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had been able to acquire such amazing dominion over the minds of his followers, and to excite * commotions so dangerous to society, was only twenty-six years of age.

Together with its monarch, the kingdom of the Anabaptists came to an end. Their principles having taken deep root in the Low Countries, the party still subsists there under the name of Mennonites †; but by a very singular revolution, this sect, so mutinous and sanguinary at its origin, has become altogether innocent and pacific. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themselves entirely to the duties of private citizens, and by their industry and charity endeavour to make reparation to human society for the violence committed by their founders ‡. A small number of this sect, which is settled in England, retain its peculiar tenets concerning baptism, but without any dangerous mixture of enthusiasm.

* Sleid. 190, &c. *Tumultuum Anabaptistarum Liber unus.* Ant. Lamberto Hortensio auctore ap. Scardium, vol. ii. p. 298, &c. *De Miserabili Monasteriensium Obsidione, &c. Libellus Antonii Corvini* ap. Scar. 313. *Annales Anabaptistici*, a Joh. Henrico Ottio, 4to. Basileæ, 1672. Cor. Heersbachius *Hist. Anab.* edit. 1637, p. 140.

† From Mennon Simonis, a teacher of repute in Friesland.

‡ Bayle, *Diction. art. Anabaptistes.*

The

The Antinomians arose about the same period. Their founder was John Agricola, a native of Aisleben, originally also a disciple of Luther. The supporters of the popish doctrines deducing a considerable portion of the arguments on which they rested their defence from the doctrines of the old law, this over-zealous reformer was encouraged by the success of his master to attack the very foundation of their arguments, and to deny that any part of the Old Testament was intended as a rule of faith or of practice to the disciples of Christ. Thus he not only rejected the moral authority of even the ten commandments; but he and his followers, conceiving some of the expressions in the writings of the apostles in too literal a sense, produced a system, which appears in many respects scarcely consistent with the moral attributes of the Deity.

The principal doctrines which at present bear this appellation, are said to be as follow: 1st. That the Law ought not to be proposed to the people as a rule of manners, nor used in the church as a means of instruction; and that the Gospel alone is to be inculcated and explained, both in the churches and in the schools of learning. 2d. That the justification of sinners is an immanent and eternal act of God, not only preceding all acts of sin, but the existence of the sinner himself*.

3d. That

* This is the opinion of most, who are styled Antinomians, though

3d. That justification by faith is no more than a manifestation to us of what was done before we had a being. 4th. That men ought not to doubt of their faith, or question whether they believe in Christ. 5th. That God sees no sin in believers, and they are not bound to confess sin, mourn for it, or pray that it may be forgiven. 6th. That God is not angry with the elect, nor does he punish them for their sins. 7th. That by God's laying our iniquities upon Christ, he became as completely sinful as we, and we as completely righteous as Christ. 8th. That believers need not fear either their own sins or the sins of others, since neither can do them any injury. 9th. That the new covenant is not made properly with us, but with Christ for us; and that this covenant is all of it a promise, having no conditions for us to perform; for faith, repentance, and obedience, are not conditions on our part, but Christ's; and that he repented, believed, and obeyed for us. 10th. That sanctification is not a proper evidence of justification*.

though some suppose, with Dr. Crisp, that the elect were justified at the time of Christ's death.

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. iv. p. 33. Clark's Lives, p. 142. Urfinus' Body of Divinity, p. 620. Spiritual Mag. vol. ii. p. 171. Crisp's Sermons, vol. i. p. 24, 29, 136, 143, 282, 298, 330. vol. ii. p. 144, 155. Saltmarsh of Free Grace, p. 92. Eaton's Honey-comb, p. 446. Town's Assertions, p. 96. Display of God's special Grace, p. 102.

It

It is not extraordinary that, while all the different doctrines of the church were destined to undergo so severe an examination, some of the opinions of Arius and the other opponents of the catholic doctrine of the Trinity should be revived. The first of the reformers who distinguished himself on this side of the question was John Campanus, who, before the confession of Augsberg was presented, began to publish his opinions*. About the same period Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician, appeared on the same side, and with much vehemence opposed the orthodox belief. Servetus was born at Villa Nueva, in the kingdom of Arragon, and after a variety of adventures settled at Vienne, in Dauphiné, under the patronage of the mild and liberal prelate of that see, and there applied himself successfully to the practice of his profession. The enthusiasm of reformation, however, invaded his tranquillity in this situation, and he was engaged by some means or other to enter into a controversy with Calvin, in which there is reason to believe that the latter was defeated, since he declared in a confidential letter to one of his friends, that "if Servetus should ever fall into his hands, he should never go out of them alive†." In 1553 Servetus printed his most famous work entitled *Christianismi Restitutio*. The book was not published in France, but printed secretly with-

* Formey, vol. ii. Cent. 16. Art. 21.

† Cal. ad Farel. Epist.

out the author's name, and conveyed out of the kingdom; but the disciples of Calvin, by his instigation as is supposed, condescended to the meanest arts to excite the inquisition against him, and it was in consequence of a correspondence with one of them at Geneva, that Servetus was seized and imprisoned by the inquisition. Here however he experienced that an establishment, which even professes persecution, is milder in its resentments than a sectary. He was suffered clandestinely to escape, and only burnt in effigy. In attempting to pass into Italy over the lake of Geneva he was arrested by his old enemy Calvin*. In contempt of every principle which should have distinguished the reformed church, this detestable bigot determined to destroy his innocent and learned, though, perhaps, mistaken opponent. By a domestic of Calvin's, either sufficient of a hypocrite or enough of a fanatic for his purpose, an accusation of blasphemy was preferred against him before the council, and he was committed to the flames on the 27th of October, 1553, as an obstinate heretic, by the very persons who had themselves escaped, and were now contending against the unlawfulness of persecution †.

* Concerning the interest of Calvin in this affair, see a tract on the subject by the late Dr. Benson. H.

† Mosh. Cent. 16.

The opinions of Servetus seem to have approached nearer to Sabellianism than either to those of Arius or the modern Socinians. He held that Christ might properly be called the God, since the eternal spirit of the Godhead was united to the man Christ Jesus. He held also that another portion of the same spirit was diffused through all nature, and directed the course of things, and actuated the minds of men agreeably to the counsels and designs of the Father. He also rejected the use of infant baptism.

The origin of Socinianism appears to have been some years precedent to the appearance of those persons from whom the sect has derived its name. At a very early period of the reformation there were among the Anabaptists, and other sects of reformers, several persons who rejected or who doubted of the doctrine of the Trinity as professed at that period. The opinions which were cherished by these persons were equally obnoxious to the Catholics, the Lutherans, and Calvinists; and opposition from a foreign enemy is generally productive of union in the party which is opposed. To avoid the evils which they might experience in Germany or Italy, numbers of them retired into Poland, which, either from its remoteness, or from the laxity of the government, seemed to promise a more secure retreat. When arrived at the land of freedom, they found themselves involved

in the utmost perplexity of doctrines. Some had embraced the Arian system; some the doctrines of Paul of Samosata; and some of them, opinions which till then probably never had an existence. About the same period, a society was formed in the neighbourhood of Venice, which consisted of about forty men of letters, who held regular assemblies, in which they discussed all the points of religion, and particularly those relating to the Trinity, with the utmost freedom. The society however being discovered, the members were dispersed different ways, and several of them suffered by the hand of the executioner*.

One of the most eminent of this society, Lælius Socinus or Sozzini, escaped into Poland in 1551, and by his influence the jarring opinions of the unitarian sectaries began to assume the appearance of a regular system. His visits to Poland were indeed but short; but what he left undone was perfected by his disciples. Under the protection of Jo. Sienienius, palatine of Podolia, who built purposely for their use the city of Racow in the district of Sendomir, the Unitarians of Poland almost assumed the consequence of an established religion; and in the year 1574 they published a summary of their principles, under the title of the Catechism or Confession of the Unitarians†.

* Formey, Cent. 16. Art. 16.

† Mosh. Cent. 16.

The abilities of Faustus Socinus, who professed to deduce his religious system from the papers of his uncle Lælius, imparted fresh vigour to the society. He new-modelled the articles of their faith. The ancient catechism, which was no more than a rude and incoherent sketch, was altered and improved by Socinus and the other unitarian doctors, and was published under the title of the *Catechism of Racow*. In this station they enjoyed an undisturbed series of prosperity for several years, till, in the beginning of the succeeding century, some Socinian students at Racow were so imprudent as in a paroxysm of enthusiasm to break in pieces a crucifix with stones. Such an act of violence excited the attention of the senate of Poland, who caused their academy to be levelled to the ground, their church to be shut up, and their printing-presses to be destroyed; and from that period, the cause of Socinianism has sensibly declined in that part of Europe, where it first assumed an aspect of prosperity. From Poland, the Socinian doctrines made their way into Transylvania about 1563, and were chiefly indebted for their success to the address and industry of George Blandratus, physician to Sigismund the reigning prince. The Socinian faith was embraced by the prince, and by many of the principal nobility; and though the Batori, who were afterwards chosen dukes of Transylvania, were by no means well affected

affected to the unitarian cause; yet the sect had acquired so deep a root, that it has never been entirely eradicated from that province*.

The followers of Socinus asserted, 1st. That all our knowledge of divinity must be derived from the Scriptures, but that our natural reason is the proper interpreter of them. 2dly. They allowed considerable latitude in the accommodation of Scripture to human reason, asserting that great allowances must be made for the strong figurative language and oriental idioms with which these writings abound. 3dly. They denied the plenary inspiration of the sacred writers, and insinuated that mistakes had crept into their writings. 4thly. Having proceeded thus far, they endeavoured to strip revealed religion of every circumstance not clearly intelligible by human reason. With respect therefore to the grand point on which they differed from other Christians; they altogether denied the divinity of Christ, or equality with the Father, but admitted him to have been an extraordinary person miraculously produced, and commissioned as a divine teacher, in whom the prophecies relating to the Messiah were completely though not literally fulfilled. They admitted also the whole history of the ascension and glorification of Christ in its literal acceptation. 5thly. They held the phrase Holy Spirit, or Holy Ghost, to

* Mosh. Cent. 16.

be merely a figurative mode of expression to denote the power or energy of God*.

Though these are the general outlines of the doctrines professed by the followers of Socinus, yet this sect was subdivided into several parties, who differed materially from each other with respect to certain articles of faith. The Budneians are said to have denied the miraculous conception of Jesus Christ. The Farvonians on the contrary asserted, that he had been engendered or produced out of nothing before the creation of the world. And the Stancarians allowed the mediatorial character of Jesus Christ, which the others seem to have denied †.

Some sects were distinguished in this age merely by carrying their abhorrence of the popish errors further than their great leaders, Luther and Calvin; such were the followers of Zuinglius, of whom respectful mention has been already made. Schwenkfeldt, a Silesian knight, and his disciples inverted the phrase "This is my body," and insisted upon its being translated and understood "My body is this," that is, such as this bread, which is broken and consumed; a true and real food, which nourishes, satisfies, and delights the soul. "My blood is This," that is, its effects are such as those of the wine, which strengthens and refreshes the heart. He also entertained very high notions of

* Mosh. Cent. 16. † Ib.

the exalted nature of Christ, and insisted on the necessity of divine illumination. The Energici held that the eucharist was no other than the energy or virtue of Jesus Christ.

The Brownists in England differed only from the established Church in respect to church government, which they asserted ought to be democratical. The Illuminati in France and Spain seem only to have been distinguished by their monkish devotion, and belief that the whole of religion consisted in prayer and contemplation. The Familists, or family of love, in Holland, considered the dispensation by Christ as imperfect, and expected a fuller revelation to be made to themselves. The Amsdorsians and Osiandrians contended that salvation was wrought by faith alone, and not by good works; while the Molinists and Synergists were of opinion that the will of man co-operated with the grace of God in effecting his eternal happiness.

CHAP. VII.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

*Multiplication of Books—Controversial Theology—Luther—
Calvin—Melancthon—Theodore Beza—Erasmus—Sir
Thomas More—George Buchanan—Reuchlin—Ludovicus
Vives—Budeus—Lipsius—Polydore Virgil—Scaliger—
Reformation in Philosophy—Copernicus and Tycho Brahe—
The Stephens's.*

THE invention of printing produced altogether a new æra in literature; and such was the rapid multiplication of books after that period, that merely to specify the authors in the departments of theology and sacred criticism would, for each century, require a separate volume. It is necessary therefore to confine our views within a very limited compass, and to content ourselves with a brief character of only the most eminent authors.

From the complexion of the times, and from the important controversies which were agitated during this period, it will be evident that controversial theology engaged the attention of by far the greater number, and the most eminent of the authors of this century. The works both of Lu-

ther and Calvin, who are generally considered as the heads of the reformation, are voluminous, and replete with learning, and strong and profound argument. But the most elegant scholar, and perhaps the most amiable character among the reformers, was Philip Melancthon. He was an early convert to the doctrines of Luther, and continued his steady friend to the conclusion of his life. The character of this excellent person was tinged with a degree of timidity which would have utterly incapacitated him for a leader in these tumultuous scenes; but his extensive learning, his candid and impartial spirit, united to his correct judgment, and the classical elegance of his style, qualified him for the part of an excellent auxiliary. Theodore Beza is well known as a translator and commentator upon the Holy Scriptures.—For his learning and abilities he was deservedly placed at the head of the university of Geneva on its first institution.

Though not publicly connected with the reformers, or openly professing their doctrines, no man in this age contributed more, indirectly, to the removal of error, than the celebrated Erasmus; since there was scarcely an opinion or practice of the Romish Church assailed by Luther, which had not previously been animadverted on, and ridiculed by this acute and satirical author *. Erasmus was

* Robertson's Charles V. v. ii. p. 157.

the illegitimate son of a literary person of the name of Gerard, by Margaret, daughter to a physician at Gouda, whom her relations would not permit to marry the man by whom she had been seduced. He lost both father and mother at about fourteen, was, in the early part of his life, a singing boy at the cathedral of Utrecht, and was afterwards forced by his guardians to become a regular canon in the monastery of Stein, near Ghent. He was ordained a priest in 1492, at about the age of twenty-six, and was invited by the bishop of Cambray to accompany him to Rome. With the permission of his superiors, Erasmus quitted his monastery, went to Paris to complete his studies, and after several journeys into Flanders, England, and Italy, settled at length at Basil, where he continued till that city embraced Zuinglianism in 1529. He afterwards lived for some time in Friburgh, whence he returned to Basil, where he died in 1536*.

Literature is not only obliged to Erasmus for his own admirable compositions, but for the revival of many of the most valuable of the ancient classics and fathers of the church. Few sciences escaped his attention: he wrote occasionally on divinity, philosophy, morals, rhetoric, and grammar, and translated the New Testament into Latin, and several of the Greek fathers. His free style of

* Du Pin.

writing involved him in several controversies; and the Lutherans and the Catholics were equally objects of his animadversion. His Dialogues are the best known of all his writings, and will be admired as a work of genius as long as there remains any taste for the wit and spirit of Athens, or for the language and eloquence of ancient Rome. He lived and died a timid reformer, and (I had almost said) an unworthy member of the church of Rome.

Next in order to Erasmus, his contemporary and friend Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor of England, may properly be placed among the patrons and improvers of polite literature. More strongly attached to the Romish faith than his friend Erasmus, and not exempt from the charge of bigoted cruelty, this excellent scholar fell a victim to the sanguinary resentment of Henry VIII. and suffered death upon the scaffold, the 17th of June, 1535.

Inferior to none that has been mentioned either in taste or learning, it would be culpable to omit a tribute of applause to the elegant and classical George Buchanan. As an historian, his works will not only be resorted to by all who are desirous of useful information, but also by those who wish to form a style upon the chaste model of Roman elegance. As a poet, he is perhaps the first among the modern imitators of the Latin classics. As the friend of civil and religious liberty, he is intitled to

a still nobler distinction; nor will the feeble apologists for a weak and wicked prince be able to fix a slander on his reputation, in the eyes of impartial inquirers.

John Reuchlin, a German, sometimes known by the name of Capnio, who was elevated, for his literary talents, from a very obscure station, to the rank of a nobleman *, Ludovicus Vives, of Valencia in Spain, Jo. Budeus, John Lipsius, Polydore Virgil, and the incomparable Scaliger are also deserving of much applause, as zealous and successful promoters of useful learning.

Philosophy as well as religion underwent a reformation in this century, by the publication of the systems of Nicholas Copernicus and Tycho Brahe. These bold invaders of ancient prejudice had scarcely less to encounter than Luther, in the establishment of the truth.

The labours of the Stephens's will be remembered with gratitude by every admirer of ancient literature

* He may perhaps be considered as the reviver of Hebrew learning.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

C H A P. I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

State of Europe with respect to Religion—Popes from Clement VIII. to Clement XI.—Labours of the Jesuits—Disputes between the different Orders of Monks—Efforts to reduce the Protestants within the Pale of the Church—Conference of Charity, &c.—Persecution in Austria, &c.—War in Germany—Massacre of Valteline—Vaudois—France—Revocation of the Edict of Nantz—England—Gunpowder Plot—Civil War—Scotland—Irish Massacre—Protestant Churches in America—Revolution in England—Schemes for an Union of Churches—Change of Religion in German Protestants.

IN the history of the preceding century we have seen the ancient fabric of the Church, which had been the work of ages, and erected from the spoils of both the civil and religious rights of men, in the course of a few years dismembered, and indeed shaken

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an almost to its foundations. The first object therefore, which attracts our attention in this century, is the rise and progress of several different and independent churches, raised successively upon the ruins of that of Rome, under the general and comprehensive term of Protestant churches.

Under two great classes the majority of the Protestants of Europe were comprehended. The first assumed the title of the Lutheran church, in honour of its great founder, the tenets of which have been already noticed; the second included a number of small societies, differing in a few points of doctrine, and was termed the reformed church. Towards the beginning of this century, however, the majority of the reformed churches had adopted the opinions of Calvin.

At the conclusion of the last century, the doctrines of Luther were embraced in several parts of Germany, in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. They had penetrated the Upper Hungary, Transylvania, and Poland, and were at least tolerated in those countries. Calvinism became the established religion of all the Swiss Protestants, as well as of the thirteen United Provinces, who had revolted from their Austrian masters, and who now constitute the Dutch republic. The majority of the French Protestants were of the Calvinistic persuasion; and as the Lutherans had settled in the upper, the disciples of Calvin had established

themselves in the lower Hungary *. The church of Scotland was much inclined to Calvinism; while England and Ireland professed that qualified system of doctrine and discipline, which still continues the established religion of those kingdoms.

The authority of the pope still extended over a considerable part of Europe, and though somewhat impaired, still retained a sufficient portion of vigour and stability. Of Clement VIII. and Leo XI. who governed the Romish church at the commencement of this century, little occurs which is worth recording. The pontificate of the latter lasted only twenty-six days, and he was succeeded on the 16th of May, 1605, by Camillus Borghese, who is known in the Papal annals under the name of Paul V. Arrogance and ill-temper were the distinguishing characteristics of this pontiff; and he seemed born either to restore the lost authority of Rome, or to annihilate the power which it still retained in the different countries of Europe. The imprudence of Paul had nearly alienated the republic of Venice from the Popish communion. The dispute originated in two decrees, which the senate of Venice had enacted in the year 1605, for preventing the unnecessary erection of religious houses, and for prohibiting the subjects of the republic from alienating their property for the use of religious fraternities, without the sanction of the senate.

* Du Pin, Cent. 16.

About the same period it happened that two ecclesiastics, accused of enormous crimes, were imprisoned by the orders of the senate, while it was an established maxim at Rome, that ecclesiastical persons were only amenable to the tribunal of the church. Against the edicts prohibiting the endowments of religious houses, the pope vehemently protested by his nuncio at Venice, and at the same time demanded that the prisoners should be delivered into his hands, to be tried for their crimes by ecclesiastical judges. To these haughty demands the senate returned a negative, and the pope laid the dominions of the republic under an interdict. The Jesuits, and the other ecclesiastics who presumed to publish the bull of excommunication against the republic, were banished the state, and preparations for war were making on both sides, when an accommodation was effected by the mediation of Henry IV. of France. The pope, on this occasion, relinquished much of his pretensions. The prisoners were delivered up to the French ambassador; and on the other hand, all the exiled ecclesiastics were permitted to return to Venice, except the Jesuits, against whom the senate enacted a severe decree*.

Paul V. was succeeded by Gregory XV. a man of a milder disposition; and in 1623, Urban VIII. of the Barberini family, ascended the papal throne.

* Du Pin, Cent. 17.

Urban was a man of learning, and a protector of literature. He was a judicious orator, and an elegant poet, but an inflexible enemy to civil and religious liberty. The pontificate of Urban was distinguished by the memorable revolution of Portugal, when that nation liberated themselves from the yoke of Spain, and, in the year 1640, placed John duke of Braganza, the lawful heir, upon the throne. As soon as the new monarch of Portugal supposed himself firmly established in his authority, he dispatched an embassy to the sovereign pontiff, requesting his sanction and confirmation. But, added to his own despotic notions, Urban was in some degree apprehensive of the Spanish power; he was therefore deaf to the entreaties of the suppliant monarch, nor could he ever be persuaded to acknowledge him as the lawful sovereign. The successor of Urban, Innocent X. was equally inflexible, nor could the Portuguese obtain a sanction from the pope, till the conclusion of the century, when, on their accommodation with Spain, the reigning pontiff condescended to approve the authority of the Braganza family, and to confirm the bishops who had been appointed to the vacant sees, but had hitherto been withheld from their episcopal functions. Innocent X. to the most profound ignorance united the most shameless profligacy, and was the dupe of an abandoned woman, with whom he lived in the most infamous commerce, and who, to complete the scandal, was the widow of his brother*.

* Mosheim.

During

During the pontificate of Alexander VII. the successor of Innocent, a dispute unhappily commenced with the court of France, which is said to have originated from the ill-treatment of the French ambassador and his lady by the pope's Corsican guards, who attacked his house, and committed several acts of violence, as was generally supposed, at the instigation of the nephews of Alexander. The pope was, on this occasion, compelled to yield to the spirit of Lewis XIV. who, notwithstanding his pretended zeal for the church, could occasionally make it bend to his interest. Alexander was compelled to send his nephew to Paris, in the character of a suppliant; the Corsican guards were branded with infamy; and a pillar was erected at Rome, in memory of the monarch's triumph over the head of the church.

The reigns of the two Clements IX. and X. in 1668 and 1669, were too short to be distinguished by any remarkable transactions. They were succeeded by Innocent XI. a man of uncommon abilities, and apparently of great integrity. This pontiff was also engaged in a warm dispute with Lewis XIV. of France, the subject of which was the right, which is termed the *regale*, by which the French monarch, upon the death of a bishop, claims the revenues of the see till a new bishop be elected. Lewis asserted that every church in his dominions was subject to the regale, while Innocent pleaded for their exemption from what he considered an usurped claim. To determine a dispute which had
already

already extended to considerable lengths, the king, in the year 1682, summoned the famous convocation of bishops, which met at Paris, in order to define the rights of the Gallican church. In this assembly it was determined, "That the power of the pope was merely spiritual, and did not at all extend to temporalities; that a general council was superior to the pope; that the power of the pope was also limited by the canons; and that his decisions are not infallible without the consent of the church*." Before this dispute was completely adjusted, a fresh cause of debate arose between the contending sovereigns, concerning the right of asylum, which was claimed by ambassadors while they resided at Rome. This right of asylum proved frequently a sanctuary for rapine and injustice, and extended much further than the immediate residence of the ambassador, comprehending a considerable extent of ground, which was termed a quarter. This shameful abuse the resolute pontiff was determined to remedy, but without violating the real privileges or actual residence of the ambassadors. To the new regulations, however, the marquis de Lavardin refused, in the name of Lewis, to submit, while the other princes of Europe were easily prevailed on to relinquish so pernicious and so useless a privilege. In this state matters continued till the death of Innocent. His immediate successors, Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII. maintained the

* Formey, vol. ii. p. 161.

same pretensions. Time, however, which generally meliorates the perverse dispositions of men, produced at length a suspension of the contest. On the one hand, the right of asylum was suppressed with the consent of the king; and on the other, the *regale* was admitted with some modifications, and the propositions respecting the rights of the Gallican church, were softened and explained in private letters addressed to the pontiff. Innocent XII. who succeeded to the papal chair in 1691, was a man of uncommon merit, and, like his predecessor of the same name, strenuously bent his mind to the reform of every abuse in his power. The pontiff whose reign concluded this century, was Clement XI. His learning and liberality rendered him an ornament to the church, which he desired to govern with justice and moderation.

Whatever was laudable in the zeal of the Romish church during the course of this century, must be confined to the labours of the Jesuits in China, Japan, and other Indian nations. If the account of their conversions be not magnified, they had at one period obtained a considerable footing in those countries. In the year 1692, the emperor of China published a remarkable edict, by which he declared that the Christian religion was in no respect detrimental to the interests of the monarch, as its enemies pretended, and permitted to his subjects an uncontrolled licence to embrace the Gospel. In a few years afterwards, the same emperor ordered

ordered a magnificent church to be built for the Jesuits, within the precincts of the imperial palace.

This flattering prospect was soon overcast; and it is to be feared that the change must principally be attributed to the ill conduct of the missionaries themselves. It is not in the nature of man to bear with moderation the severe trial of prosperity. Instead of acting as became the humble preachers of a religion, the basis of which is temperance and self-denial, the Jesuits imitated the pomp and luxury of nobles, or even of monarchs themselves; and accustomed at home to take an active part in the politics of the nations where they were stationed, their imprudent interference with a government uncommonly despotic probably contributed to that diminution of influence which they soon experienced. The downfall of the Christian religion in Japan was attended with still more fatal consequences; a severe persecution was excited in the year 1615, against the missionaries and professors of that religion. The Jesuits and their disciples, by the fortitude with which they suffered the most excruciating torments, expiated in some degree the errors which they had committed in the course of their ministry. The persecution is generally ascribed to the villainy and avarice of the Dutch, who persuaded the emperor of Japan that the design of the Jesuits was to overturn his government; and to this cause are attributed the peculiar privileges which are allowed to the states of Holland, who are the

only Christian power now permitted to trade in that country.

The conduct of the Jesuits in these missions has not escaped censure in other respects. It was asserted by the Dominicans and other adversaries of that enterprising order, that they extended their ideas of toleration to a culpable extreme, and permitted the unnatural union of the absurdities of paganism with the religion of the gospel. A long contest was supported upon this subject by the two contending orders; and successive popes, as their interest or caprice dictated, approved or condemned the lenity which the Jesuits had shewn to the Chinese superstitions.

This was not the only controversy which existed between the Dominicans and the order of Jesus. A tedious dispute on the indeterminable questions of grace and free-will was carried on for some years with sufficient acrimony on both sides. The Dominicans, indeed, during this century, waged the war of words with considerable vehemence, and with different adversaries. The nonsensical debate with the Franciscans concerning the immaculate conception was revived, principally in Spain. The controversies with the Jansenist and Molinist heretics are reserved for another chapter.

While the catholics were anxiously employed in the propagation of their faith among pagan nations, they were not inattentive to the great object of recalling within the pale of the church those who in
the

the preceding century had separated from it. To this end, every means, lawful and unlawful, was employed. Amicable conferences were held at different periods, but all with the same success. Two were held at Ratisbon, in 1601, one at Dourlach, in 1612, and one at Neubourg, in 1615. But the most famous was that which was called the Conference of Charity, and which was held at Thorn, in Polish Prussia, in 1645, by order of Uladislaus, king of Poland. This conference was intended to effect a complete union between the Romish, Lutheran, and reformed churches; but so many insuperable impediments were found, that the eminent persons who assisted at the conference departed completely dissatisfied with the vain attempt*.

Unhappily for the peace of Europe, the misguided zeal of the catholic party condescended to employ other means, as inconsistent with the spirit of christianity, as charity and persuasion were agreeable to it. The bigotry of the house of Austria was considered as a proper instrument for the execution of these unjustifiable designs, and Germany was once more destined to be the seat of a religious war. Violent persecutions were excited in the Austrian dominions, whence all those of the reformed religion, who had the good fortune to escape the sword or the flames, were completely expelled. The Bohemian protestants acted with more spirit,

* Formey, Mollheim, &c.

but with equally ill success. The kingdom of Bohemia had been possessed peaceably by the lineal descendants of Ferdinand, the brother and successor of Charles V. till the latter years of the emperor Matthias, who governed that kingdom in conjunction with Hungary. It has been already stated that, by the treaty of Passau, liberty of conscience was extended to all the protestants of Germany without exception, but at that period the term was generally supposed to apply to those who adhered to the confession of Augsburg. In the beginning of this century, therefore, the catholics began to insist that those of the Calvinistic persuasion were not included in the treaty; they caressed the old protestants, and in particular the house of Saxony, between whom and the Palatinate some seeds of jealousy were supposed to exist. The Calvinistic princes and states on the other hand, who saw more clearly than the Lutherans the deep designs of the church of Rome, and apprehended rightly that they were only the first of the protestants who were destined to the slaughter, formed amongst themselves a league which they termed the Evangelical Union, and which was immediately followed by a catholic league, at the head of which was the duke of Bavaria, the professed rival of the elector palatine.

In this state of things the impatience of the Bohemians, who felt in some instances their religious liberties invaded, accelerated a crisis, which by prudent counsels might at least have been deferred.

Previous

Previous to the death of the emperor Matthias, some popular tumults had broken out in that kingdom; and immediately upon his decease, in 1618, they declared his nephew Ferdinand (who also succeeded him in the empire) unworthy of the crown, and proceeded to elect Frederic, the elector palatine, king of Bohemia. Supported only by a divided and inconstant people, and by faithless allies, this young prince, allured by the splendour of a crown, too hastily acceded to the rash proposal. The first events of the war afforded a favourable prospect; but he was soon deserted by the prince of Transylvania, who had with apparent earnestness embarked in his cause; and the dastardly and worthless James I. of England was too timid and too selfish to afford assistance to his unfortunate son-in-law. In the fatal battle of Prague, Frederic not only lost his new acquisitions, but even his hereditary dominions. Ferdinand recovered Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The duke of Bavaria succeeded to the Palatinate, and the electoral dignity; and the elector of Saxony, who had condescended in this war to become an instrument of the popish faction, received for his reward Lusatia, as a fief of the kingdom of Bohemia*. The unfortunate prince was reduced to the state of a fugitive and a suppliant at foreign courts; the protestants of Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary†, were plun-

* Puffendorf's *Introduct.*

† In 1671, a partial persecution was again excited in Hungary, and the remaining protestants were quite extirpated.

dered of their property, and banishment was the smallest of personal evils to which the wretched sufferers were exposed.

The edict of restitution, issued by the emperor, which enjoined the protestants throughout the empire to restore implicitly to the church all the property of which it had been deprived since the treaty of Passau, justly alarmed the reformed princes and states; and a league was formed in 1629, at the head of which appeared the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. This accomplished general soon restored the affairs of the protestants; and completely defeated the imperial army in the memorable battle of Leipzig. In the year 1632, Gustavus lost his life in the battle of Lutzen, though his army was victorious. He had however laid such a foundation of power and unanimity previous to his death, that the affairs of the protestants suffered less from this irreparable loss than might have been expected. The war was carried on with various success for a series of years, and at length, in 1648, was concluded by the peace of Westphalia, which established the protestant religion in those states of Germany where it is now professed, and defined the power of the emperor and other members of the Germanic body *.

During this unhappy period Germany was not the only country which experienced the miseries of religious contests. In the small province of Valte-

* Puffendorf, Mosheim, &c.

line, in the country of the Grisons, the reformation had made considerable progress; and no expedient presented itself to the Romish clergy so likely to reduce this canton under the spiritual dominion of the pope, as that of inviting the Spaniards, who were then in possession of the duchy of Milan, to assume the temporal authority. In the attainment of this object a most dreadful massacre of the protestants was perpetrated; upwards of five hundred persons suffered in this small territory, and all the stores of cruelty were exhausted in the invention of tortures. The mouths of some were filled with gunpowder, which was immediately exploded; infants were murdered at their mothers' breasts; and so complete was the slaughter, that the protestant religion was for ever extirpated*.

The unfortunate Vaudois had been the victims of persecution during every religious war from the thirteenth century. In 1655, they were compelled by the duke of Savoy to emigrate, in the midst of a severe winter, from their native country, and their lands were assigned to the Irish soldiers that had been banished by Cromwell. Before the unarmed multitude however had time to retreat, the inhuman tyrant let loose upon them the "dogs of war," and numbers were butchered in every form of cruelty. The capricious monarch in three years revoked his edict, and permitted the remnant to return†.

* Formey.

† Ibid.

It is well known that in the year 1610, the celebrated Henry IV. of France, who with innumerable blemishes was certainly possessed of a great mind, fell a victim to the fanaticism of a ruffian named Ravallac, who stabbed him in his coach, as he passed along the street amidst the acclamations of his people. During the feeble minority of his son Lewis XIII. the catholic party gained the ascendancy; and during the corrupt administrations of Richelieu and Mazarin, the Hugonots were uniformly oppressed. They were successively deprived of all the strong places which they held; the reduction of Rochelle by famine in 1628, in the siege of which above two-thirds of the citizens perished, after languishing without bread for thirteen weeks, proved the termination of their power. In a word, the *sacred* and *irrevocable* edict of Nantz was at length revoked by the impolitic perfidy of Lewis XIV. the protestant churches were destroyed throughout the kingdom; the soldiery committed the most scandalous excesses; and, after the loss of innumerable lives, fifty thousand of the most valuable and industrious citizens of France were forced into exile*.

In England the efforts of the catholic party were less successful, though not less strenuous. They had to contend with a wise and well-compacted establishment, and with a high-spirited and powerful people. As therefore open force and perse-

* Formey, &c.

cution could not be employed, artifice and conspiracy were the only engines which could be wielded for the extirpation of protestantism. The illustrious Elizabeth was succeeded in 1602 by James I. the son of the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots, who, for her attachment to popery and arbitrary power, and her licentious conduct, was expelled the kingdom by her exasperated subjects, and was afterwards beheaded in England. Born of a popish mother, but educated by rigid Calvinists, the hopes of all parties were elevated on the accession of James to the throne of England; but the Papists and Calvinists were equally disappointed, and James appeared a strenuous supporter of the English hierarchy. In this desperate state of things the only project that presented itself to the bigots of the catholic party, was the removal of a prince and a nobility who appeared so unfavourably disposed to the re-establishment of their tenets. From the period of his coronation, indeed, it is said that designs had been formed for deposing James, and altering the succession in such a manner that the Romish religion might become once more predominant: but, by the unanimity of the people, these designs were disconcerted *. Depressed but not disarmed, the papists, in the year 1605, determined by one bold stroke to attempt the recovery of their lost authority; and this was no less than the destruction of the king, prince of Wales, and the

* See Rapin's Hist. of Engl. vol. 9. 8vo ed. Puffendorf, &c.

whole parliament, by springing a mine under the house where they were assembled. The vaults which were under the houses of parliament were hired by some of the leaders of the popish party; an immense quantity of gunpowder was cautiously deposited, and a person of the name of Guy Fawkes cheerfully devoted himself as the instrument of destruction. The tenderness or friendship of some of the party to an individual disconcerted the scheme. An anonymous letter discovered the whole proceedings to the lord Mounteagle; the vaults were searched, the powder was found, with the devoted bigot, who waited with a lanthorn and candle, to set fire to the train which in a few hours was to consign himself, along with the enemies of his faith, to the judgment of eternity.

The troubles which succeeded in the reign of Charles I. when religious disputes were unaccountably blended with civil contentions, sufficiently revenged the catholics upon the church of England. When the papal authority was abolished in England and other countries of Europe, the abuses of the Romish hierarchy led the misguided zeal of many well-disposed persons to condemn every establishment which retained the remotest resemblance to that form of ecclesiastical government. The Brownists, a considerable sect, openly avowed these sentiments in the preceding century; and at the beginning of this the principles of Calvinism, and their ideas of church government, had been propagated

propagated with great rapidity in England as well as in Scotland. The unhappy disputes which took place between Charles and his parliament concerning the right of raising money on the people, proved the signal for the sectaries to exclaim loudly for a change in the government of the church. The trifling and pedantic attention of Laud archbishop of Canterbury * to petty forms and unmeaning ceremonies, lent a semblance of probability to the popular clamour which was excited concerning the king's intention of introducing popery; and his marriage with a popish princess, Henrietta of France, increased the suspicion. When therefore the parliament proved victorious over the monarch, even those who had been previously well affected to the church blended in the same condemnation both Charles and his religion, and patiently submitted to the annihilation of the English hierarchy. The corrupt views of the usurper Cromwell, who assumed the government under the title of Protector, led him to discountenance every power but that of the military, which might endeavour to establish itself in the state. The tenets of the independent party were warmly embraced by Cromwell; and the ecclesiastical state of England was soon divided amongst a number of discordant churches, who vied with each other in extravagance and fanaticism. The restoration of Charles II. re-established the form of church go-

* See Macaulay's Hist. of England.

vernment,

vernment, which had been overthrown at the death of his father ; but a liberal toleration was still permitted to all dissenters who chose peaceably to submit to the civil government.

The church in Scotland underwent a similar revolution. Indeed that kingdom was first excited to arms by the inclination of the monarch to impose upon it episcopal authority. During the commonwealth, the presbyterian form was established in Scotland ; and on the return of Charles II. the kingdom was completely subjected to the episcopal form of government.

The Catholics were not tame spectators of these transactions ; and as Ireland was the only part of the British dominions, which seemed to promise any degree of success to their machinations, a number of Jesuit missionaries were dispatched thither, as soon as the contest between Charles and his parliament rendered the crisis favourable to their designs. The artful ministers of persecution were not unsuccessful in reviving the ancient prejudices of the Irish. A dreadful rebellion and massacre was excited throughout the kingdom. In a few months upwards of 200,000 were sacrificed. The province of Ulster, which was principally inhabited by Protestants, was entirely depopulated by the loss of 140,000 of its inhabitants. The tortures employed on the occasion would surpass all credibility, were they not attested by the most authentic testimonies. New-born infants were committed to the

the flames, and some even ripped alive out of their mothers' wombs and burnt; many expired upon tenter-hooks in lingering torments; and other inventions of cruelty too shocking to be named were publicly exhibited for the sport of the rabble *. The army of Cromwell reduced the whole kingdom within the space of one year (1648), and gave to the papal authority a blow, which in that island it has never been able to recover.

Among the circumstances favourable to the protestant religion, which resulted from the troubles in England, was the colonization of several large districts of North America. As the different sides were predominant, such of the oppressed party as were peaceably disposed emigrated at different times to that distant continent, and planted a number of protestant churches, which have almost uniformly to the present time persevered in the systems of their ancestors.

The death of Charles II. once more revived the hopes of the catholic party in the British dominions; James II. an inflexible bigot, left no stratagem unpractised for the introduction of popery. On this occasion the utility and excellence of the English hierarchy was felt and admitted by all. A fallacious proclamation was issued by James, under the pretence of extending toleration; but its true object was to place all the offices of trust in the hands of papists. The protestant dissenters were

* See Sir John Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.

universally

universally imposed upon by this specious pretence; but the temperate sagacity of the bishops justly apprehended the intended consequences; they strenuously contended and petitioned against the proclamation; they alarmed the fears of the protestants throughout the kingdom. The bigoted James was expelled from the throne in the year 1688, and his son-in-law, William prince of Orange, was elected by the free voice of the people, and both the civil and ecclesiastical constitution was placed upon a better and more liberal foundation*.

Agreeably to the general petition of the Scottish nation, the presbyterian form of church government was established in that country by William III. and the same was afterwards confirmed by the act which effected the union of the two countries in 1706.

Some faint hopes were entertained in the beginning of this century, while the famous Cyrillus Lucar was at the head of the Greek church, of a union between that and the reformed churches of Europe. But this eminent patriarch being seized and strangled by the machinations of the Jesuits, these hopes were presently dissipated†. Several well-meant efforts were also made to unite under one form of worship all the protestant churches. The most remarkable of the conferences which were held on this subject was that at Leipzig in 1631. Several

* See Acherly's *Britannic Constitution*.

† Formey, *Cent. 17. art. 7.*

of the protestant princes and most eminent protestant divines assisted at this conference, but without any success.

A few changes took place in the religion of certain states of Germany towards the commencement of this century, which it may not be improper to notice. In the landgravate of Hesse, the Lutherans and the Reformed, or Calvinists, had hitherto mingled in one communion; some differences, however, arising between the divines, the Landgrave Maurice publicly professed the reformed religion; and in 1605 it was introduced into the university of Warburg, and became the prevailing religion of the state. In 1614 also, John Sigismund elector of Brandenburg renounced the Lutheran, and embraced the reformed religion. The tenets of Calvinism were however not admitted by the elector in their full extent; those in particular, which related to predestination and divine grace, he utterly rejected*.

* Formey, Mosheim, &c.

CHAP. II.

OF DOCTRINES, RITES, AND CEREMONIES IN
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Few Alterations in the established Doctrines of the Romish Church—New Societies and Orders—Congregation and Seminary for propagating the Faith—Visitation of the Blessed Virgin—Virgins of Love—Fathers of the Oratory—Priests of Missions—Abbey of La Trappe—Doctrines of Protestants—Lutherans—Calvinists—Church of England.

AT a period when the Romish church was involved in contests which destroyed its claim to universality, and almost endangered its very existence, there was scarcely leisure to attempt either improvement or alteration in the established doctrines or ceremonies of the church. Fanaticism is, however, an active principle, and where it cannot exert itself in great undertakings, it will frequently apply with solicitude to lesser objects. Where it cannot institute a religion, it will found a convent; if it dares not extend its sacrilegious hand to touch the essentials of an established form of worship, it will condescend to the reformation of the monkish habit, or add a new penance to the tedious ritual of the monastery.

Several

Several new societies and orders were instituted in this century; but the most laudable of all was that which was formed by Gregory XV. in 1622, and termed "The Congregation for the Propagation of Faith." It consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary. Its possessions were greatly augmented by Urban VIII. and by the liberality of innumerable donors. Under the patronage of this society, an incredible number of missionaries have been appointed to all parts of the world; books of various descriptions are published at its expence, and seminaries are supported for the education of missionaries, as well as for the instruction of pagan youths, who are sent to study at Rome.

To this famous establishment another was added, in 1627, by Urban VIII. under the denomination of "The College for the Propagation of Faith;" and this seminary is entirely appropriated to the education of missionaries to be sent among distant nations. The munificence and piety of a Spanish nobleman, John Baptist Viles, furnished this institution with an ample support, by bequeathing to it his whole possessions, and his house, a noble and beautiful structure, for the immediate use of the college. It is under the government of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. A similar seminary was instituted at Paris in 1663*.

Not less commendable, either in the motives or

* Mosheim.

in the objects, was the society which was instituted in 1610, by St. Francis of Sales, under the uncouth name of "The Visitation of the Blessed Virgin." The peculiar office of this congregation is the relief and support of the sick poor: Louisa the Fat, a lady of distinction, formed a society of "Virgins of Love," or "Daughters of Charity," for the same purpose*.

The misfortune of all charitable institutions is, that the selfish conduct of those who are entrusted with the management seldom permits them to answer the intentions of the founders. But however the societies which we have just enumerated may deserve commendation, the increase of monkery, that is, of indolence, of pretended celibacy, and all the vices which they bring along with them, can never excite approbation. The Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus originated in 1613, with cardinal Berule†; and in 1632, "the Priests of Missions" were formed into a regular order, with the professed view both of superintending the seminaries for missionaries, and also occasionally instructing the peasantry in the Christian religion.

But the most singular and most famous order is that of the reformed Bernardines, whose institution may be attributed to Bouthelier de Rand, after-

* Formey.

† These monks do not relinquish their possessions on entering into the order, but are excluded from taking any ecclesiastical benefices. Moshi.

wards abbot of La Trappe. This extraordinary person was eminent, almost from his infancy, for his uncommon attainments; and at the age of twelve or thirteen, he published an edition of Anacreon, with learned annotations. The early part of his life, it is said, was tinctured with licentiousness; and his conversion is attributed to the following accident. Among other profligate connections, he had one with a young lady of uncommon beauty, whom he passionately loved. After a six weeks absence in the country, he returned one evening, and entering by a back stair, proceeded directly to the lady's apartment, without having the patience to inquire concerning her health, or situation. On entering the chamber he found it illuminated with tapers, and hung with black. On his approaching the bed, he beheld his mistress in her shroud, dead of the small-pox, —all her beauty extinguished by the ravages of that fatal distemper. From that moment he retired to the gloomy solitude of La Trappe, and spent the last forty years of his life in the most austere piety. The monks of La Trappe are among the most rigid of the Romish orders*.

Few alterations took place either in the creed or ceremonies of the established protestant churches, in this century. At different assemblies and synods their doctrines were accurately ascertained and defined. It may, therefore, not be improper in this

* Mosheim.

place to exhibit a short sketch of these different systems, in addition to what was stated concerning them in the history of the preceding century.

The protestant churches in general agreed in rejecting the Romish doctrines relating to the pope's supremacy, the traditions of the church, transubstantiation, purgatory, penance, auricular confession, image worship, invocation of saints, masses for the dead, monastic vows, and the admitting more sacraments in the church than two.

The leading doctrines of the LUTHERAN church are as follow :

I. That the Holy Scriptures are the only source whence we are to draw our religious sentiments, whether they relate to faith or practice.

II. That justification is the effect of faith, exclusive of good works, and that faith ought to produce good works, purely in obedience to God, and not in order to our justification.

III. That no man is able to make satisfaction for his sins.

The Lutheran church is strictly episcopal in two kingdoms of Europe, Denmark and Sweden only; in other parts the supreme rulers of the church are termed Superintendants.

The distinguishing tenets of the CALVINISTS are comprehended in five articles.

I. That God has chosen a certain number in Christ to everlasting glory, before the foundation of the world, according to his immutable purpose,
and

and of his free grace and love, without the least foresight of faith, good works, or any conditions performed by the creature: and that the rest of mankind he was pleased to pass by, and ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sins, to the praise of his vindictive justice.

II. That Jesus Christ, by his death and sufferings, made an atonement only for the sins of the elect.

III. That mankind are totally depraved in consequence of the fall; and by virtue of Adam's being their public head, the guilt of his sin was imputed, and a corrupt nature conveyed to all his posterity; from which proceed all actual transgressions: and that by sin we are made subject to death, and all miseries, temporal, spiritual, and eternal.

IV. That all whom God has predestinated to life he is pleased, in his appointed time, effectually to call by his word and spirit, out of that state of sin and death, in which they are by nature, to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ.

V. That those whom God has effectually called and sanctified by his spirit, shall never finally fall from a state of grace*.

The

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. p. 352. vol. iv. p. 70. Calvin's Institutions, p. 127. Assembly's Confession of Faith, p. 35, 36, 48, 49, 67. Charnock's Works, vol. ii. p. 1353, 1354. Twisse's Works, p. 220. Dr. Edwards's Veritas Redux, p. 56, 89, 91, 92, 319, 320, 321, 358, 384, 390, 450. Edwards on

The established Calvinists adopt the presbyterian form of government; but many societies, such as the independents, anabaptists, &c. who generally profess the Calvinistic doctrines, have a form and discipline peculiar to themselves.

The great object of the English reformers was to retain the body and constitution of the primitive church, only discarding such tenets and superstitions as had been introduced by mere human authority, subsequent to the apostolic times. It retains, therefore, the primitive form of church government, as nearly as can be collected from the history of the early ages, namely, that by bishops, priests, and deacons. It allows of other offices in the church, such as metropolitans and archdeacons, for the purpose of order and regulation; but the above are the only orders which it considers as sacred or apostolical.

The first principle which this church assumes as the groundwork of its doctrines and tenets, is, that no article of faith shall be believed by any man, or thought necessary to salvation, which is not contained in those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority there never was any doubt in the church.

Idly. It states the doctrine of a divine Trinity existing in the unity of the Godhead, as a scriptural doctrine; and also adopts all the other articles of

Original Sin, p. 13, 40, 356, 366. Broughton's Historical Library, vol. i. p. 195.

faith

faith which are set forth in the Athanasian, the Nicene, and the Apostles' creeds.

III^{dly}. It agrees with the Calvinists in admitting the doctrine of original sin, or that original corruption which is attached to the nature of man by the transgression of our first parents. It also asserts the justification of man through the atonement and merits of Jesus Christ.

IV^{thly}. The efficacy and virtue of the divine grace (which is commonly termed the ordinary operation of the Holy Ghost) in influencing the wills and affections of mankind, and directing them to the performance of works of faith and righteousness, is strongly contended for in the articles of this church.

V^{thly}. It treats of the very difficult and obscure questions relating to predestination and election, with a becoming moderation, and restricts the favour and mercy of God to no particular society of believers.

VI^{thly}. With respect to the sacraments, it admits of only two, baptism and the Lord's supper, and considers them merely as outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace, which is the consequence and effect of faith.

In other respects the church of England agrees with the great body of protestants in rejecting the Romish superstitions, as enumerated above.

CHAP. III.

OF THE SECTS WHICH APPEARED IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Jansenists—Quietists—Cartesians or Cocceians—Sublapsarians and Supralapsarians—Arminians—Pietists—Jacob Behmen—Puritans—Independents—Seekers—Ranters—Fifth Monarchy Men—Quakers—Sabbatarians—Hattemists—Muggletonians, &c.

THE sect which attracted the most general attention during the course of this century was that of the Jansenists, the founder of which was Cornelius Jansen, originally professor of divinity in the university of Louvain, and afterwards bishop of Ypres, in Flanders. This eminent and learned person became early attached to the writings of St. Augustin, and had imbibed all that father's opinions concerning the nature of human liberty and divine grace. The chief labour of his life was exhausted on the digesting of these opinions into a regular treatise, which, in honour of his master, he entitled *Augustinus*. He left the work complete at his death, in 1638, and submitted it, by his last will, to the holy see. The publication might possibly have passed with little notice,

or

or, at the most, like many other speculations, might have enjoyed only a temporary celebrity, had not the imprudence of the Jesuits, who were alarmed by an imaginary attack upon their infallibility, selected it as an object on which they might display their unbounded influence. The famous cardinal Richelieu was not favourably disposed to the memory of its author, who in a former work had condemned the politics of France; and uniting therefore with the Jesuits, he procured the condemnation of the work of Jansen by successive bulls. Persecution generally produces opposition, and perhaps the unpopularity of the Jesuits might tend considerably to increase the disciples of Jansen. His doctrines were embraced by a considerable party both in France and the Netherlands, and had the honour to rank among their defenders James Boonen archbishop of Malines, Libertus Fromond, Anthony Arnould, Blaise Pascal, Peter Nicholas, Pasquier du Quesnel, and many others of scarcely inferior reputation. The utmost vigilance of the church could not exclude the spirit of Jansenism from penetrating the convents themselves; but none was so distinguished as the female convent of Port Royal, in the neighbourhood of Paris. These nuns observed the strict rules of the Cistercians; the vale in which the convent was situated soon became the retreat of the Jansenist penitents, and a number of
little

little huts were presently erected within its precincts. After various vicissitudes of persecution, in 1709, the nuns refusing to subscribe the declaration of Alexander VII. ; the weak and intolerant Lewis XIV. ordered the whole building to be utterly demolished.

The principal tenets of the Jansenists are as follow: 1st. That there are divine precepts, which good men, notwithstanding their desire to observe them, are, nevertheless, absolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that measure of grace which is essentially necessary to render them capable of such obedience. 2d. That no person, in this corrupt state of nature, can resist the influence of divine grace, when it operates upon the mind. 3d. That, in order to render human actions meritorious, it is not requisite that they be exempt from *necessity*, but that they be free from *constraint*. 4th. That the Semi-pelagians err greatly in maintaining that the human will is endowed with the power of either receiving, or resisting the aids and influences of preventing grace. 5th. That whoever affirms, that Jesus Christ made expiation, by his sufferings and death, for the sins of all mankind, is a Semi-pelagian*.

The severity with which the Quietists were treated was still more unpardonable in the church of Rome. This sect was indebted for its origin,

* Mosh. Eccles. Hist. vol. iv, p. 373, 379.

or at least its revival*, to Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, who, in 1675, published a treatise under the title of the Spiritual Guide, in which he asserted that the perfect state of a Christian consists in the repose of the soul, which is only to be obtained in a passive state; so that he has no will or desire that is properly his own; that he resigns himself entirely to God and his influence, to produce in him whatever he pleases. By this the Christian arrives at a pure love of God, exempt from all private interests; he thinks of neither rewards nor punishments; he troubles himself neither about his salvation nor damnation; on the contrary, he beholds all objects with a perfect indifference; and in this state he cannot sin, he stands in no need of any exterior divine worship, and whatever he does is in itself indifferent.

True policy would have left this innocent branch of enthusiasm to have been quietly embraced by the very few who could sufficiently wean themselves from all the natural propensities, to conform to so rigid a principle; but no consideration of this kind, nor even the friendship of Innocent XI. could save the unfortunate priest from persecution. He was apprehended in 1685; his doctrine was condemned in sixty-eight propositions; he was sentenced to a public penance, and to perpetual confinement in the prison of the Inquisition, where he died in 1696, full of years and of sorrow. The

* In most of their tenets the Quietists exactly agreed with some of the ancient sectaries. See also this Vol. p. 212.

persecution was extended to all the disciples of Molinos. The elegant and pious Madame Guyon was persecuted and driven from city to city, and more than once committed to prison: in the benevolent Fenelon she found an advocate, but not even his credit could support the cause. *

The philosophy of Des Cartes, as explained and inculcated by John Coccius, a celebrated divine of Leyden, produced in this century a controversy and a sect. Coccius represented the whole history of the Old Testament as a mirror, which held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events that were to happen in the church under the dispensation of the New Testament, and to the end of the world. He maintained that by far the greater part of the ancient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, and the rise, progress, and revolutions of the church, not only under the figure of persons and transactions, but in a literal manner, and by the very sense of the words used in these predictions; and laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation, that the words and phrases of scripture are to be understood in every sense of which they are susceptible; or, in other words, that they signify in effect every thing that they can possibly signify.

The refinements of Calvinism gained an ascendancy in most of the reformed churches during this age of speculation; but the love of disputation

* See the Life of Fenelon, prefixed to a splendid edition in quarto of Hawksworth's *Telemachus*, published by Kearsley.

would

would not permit these minute inquiries to be perfectly in unison with each other. Hence arose the distinction between the Sublapsarians and the Supralapsarians: the former asserted that "God had only *permitted* the first man to fall into transgression, without absolutely *pre-determining* his fall;" while the latter maintained that "God had decreed from all eternity the transgression of Adam, in such a manner that our first parents could not possibly avoid this fatal event *."

The bold and unexpected attack of Arminius produced between the jarring parties that union which probably might otherwise have been far distant. This ardent champion for the free-will of man, who had been the disciple of Beza, and was latterly professor of divinity at Leyden, attacked without reserve the favourite doctrines of the Calvinists concerning predestination and election, which were again defended with some warmth by Francis Gomar, one of his colleagues. The death of Arminius did not bring the controversy to a conclusion; on the contrary, after many attempts, by the moderate party among the clergy and the magistrates, to restore tranquillity, the only expedient that seemed likely to terminate the dispute was the assembling of a general synod, which met at Dort in 1618. At this assembly a number of eminent divines attended from different parts of Germany, Switzerland, England, and Scotland.

* Mosheim.

The Arminians were declared corrupters of true religion, schismatics, &c. The supralapsarian doctors were desirous of imposing their tenets on the synod, but the moderation of the British divines prevented their establishment. As usual in those times of controversy, a sharp persecution followed the decision. The stadtholder, prince Maurice, immediately imprisoned three of the magistrates, who were the principal supporters of the Arminian party; John Olden Barnevelt, a person highly respectable both from his age and the services he had rendered to his country, Hugo Grotius, and Rumbold Hogerbeets. Barnevelt lost his head on a scaffold, and the other two were condemned to perpetual imprisonment*; from which however Grotius afterwards escaped, and took refuge in France. The Arminians were expelled from all their employments. Some years afterwards, the brother and successor of Maurice, Frederic Henry, allowed them a partial toleration; and Episcopius was even permitted to open a seminary at Amsterdam, which from time to time has produced excellent scholars. They have however been since exposed to occasional persecutions, and have never risen to any degree of importance as a society. Their principal doctrines are comprehended in five articles. 1st. That the Deity has not fixed the future state of mankind, by an absolute unconditional decree; but deter-

* Formey, Cent. 17. art. 11.

mined from all eternity, to bestow salvation on those who he foresaw would persevere to the end in their faith in Jesus Christ; and to inflict everlasting punishments on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist to the end his divine assistance. 2d. That Jesus Christ, by his sufferings and death, made an atonement for the sins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in particular: that however, none, but those who believe in him, can be partakers of this divine benefit. 3d. That mankind are not totally depraved, and that depravity does not come upon them by virtue of Adam's being their public head; but that mortality and natural evil only are the direct consequences of his sin to his posterity. 4th. That there is no such thing as irresistible grace in the conversion of sinners. 5th. That those who are united to Christ by faith, may fall from their faith, and forfeit finally their state of grace.

The learned Spener was the father of Pietism. He formed societies at Frankfort, for the promotion of what he esteemed vital religion; his principles chiefly consisted in enforcing the austere practice of piety and virtue.

One of the most singular characters which appeared in this century was Jacob Boehm or Behmen, a shoemaker at Gorlitz, who indulged himself in a variety of speculations on the most abstruse and intricate subjects. He mingled what was termed the Rosicrucian, or chemical philosophy, with

with the mysteries of religion. His first work was entitled *Aurora*, or the rising of the sun, which being censured by the magistrates, he remained silent for seven years, and then resuming his pen, in the course of about five years published nearly twenty volumes. Amongst other abstruse doctrines, Behmen taught that the divine grace operates by the same rules, and follows the same methods, that the divine providence observes in the natural world; and that the minds of men are purged from their vices and corruptions in the same manner as metals are purified from their dross.

The name of Puritans was given, at a very early period in England, to those persons, both of clergy and laity, who disapproved of certain rites and ceremonies in the church, such as the use of the surplice and other garments, which their aversion to popery induced them to consider evidently in too serious a light. Well affected, however, to the doctrines of the church, they were content to remain within its pale, till a considerable body of these disaffected members were drawn off in 1586 by the preaching of Robert Brown, who attacked the hierarchy itself; on which account these sectaries separated from the rest, and were denominated Brownists, as was remarked in the history of the preceding century.

With the doctrines of the church founded by Calvin at Geneva, a considerable respect for its discipline was also imported; and soon after the separation

ration of the Brownists, a large body of the Puritans openly testified their approbation of the form and conduct of the presbyterian church.

But the ardour of innovation when once excited is not easily confined within moderate limits; the Puritans therefore soon divided into a variety of sects. To a considerable number even the presbyterian form of government did not appear sufficiently democratical; they discovered that the church at Corinth had an entire judicature within itself*; and upon this ground they determined that every particular congregation of Christians had a complete power of regulating all its own concerns, independent of bishops, synods, or presbyteries; and agreeably to these principles, they assumed the name of Independents. This sect dates its origin from 1616.

The Seekers derive their name from their maintaining, that the true church, ministry, scripture, and ordinances were lost, for which they were seeking. They taught that the scriptures were uncertain; that present miracles were necessary to faith; that our ministry is without authority; and our worship and ordinances unnecessary or vain†. The Ranters, who arose about the same period, were nearly similar in all their opinions.

The Fifth-Monarchy-men were another branch from the same stock, and were so denominated from maintaining that there will be a fifth uni-

* 1 Cor. v. 12.

† Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's History, vol. i. p. 110.

versal monarchy under the personal reign of king Jesus upon earth. In consequence of this tenet, they aimed at the subversion of all human government*.

The society of Quakers was instituted about the year 1650, by George Fox, a shoemaker of Nottingham. If the intemperate zeal of this itinerant preacher, which led him frequently to intrude himself into other religious societies, and to declaim against their abominations, seemed to invite some chastisement, it must be confessed, on the other hand, that the spirit of the times did not suffer him to be disappointed. He was ill-treated by all parties; and even Cromwell, the great patron of sectaries, laboured for the extinction of the Quakers. After the Restoration, the two celebrated converts, William Penn and Robert Barclay, gave to the Quaker principles the form of a regular system. The society acquired the name of Quakers from the agitation and trembling with which they spoke in public; but the appellation of Friends, or Friends of Truth, is that by which they desire to be distinguished. The principal points maintained by the Quakers are: 1st. That God has given to all men sufficient light, which will work out their salvation unless resisted; that this light is not less universal than the seed of sin, and saves those who have not the outward means of salvation; and that this light is a divine principle, in which God, as

* Mosheim.

Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, dwells; which the scriptures call "Christ within, the hope of glory."

2d. That the scriptures are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the primary rule of faith and manners; nevertheless, because they give a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule subordinate to the Spirit, from whom they derive their excellence.

3d. That immediate revelation is not ceased, a measure of the Spirit being given to every one.

4th. That as by the light or gift of God all spiritual knowledge is received, those who have this gift ought to preach, though without human commission or literature; and as they have freely received this sacred gift, so ought they freely to give it: and that any person of a sober life, without distinction of sex, is allowed to preach, when moved by the Spirit.

5th. That all true and acceptable worship to God is offered by the inward and immediate moving of his Spirit. 6th. That water baptism, and the Lord's supper, were only commanded for a time.

The moral doctrines of the Quakers are chiefly comprehended in the following precepts: 1. That it is not lawful to give to men such flattering titles, as, your Grace, your Lordship, your Honour, &c. or to use those flattering words commonly called compliments, or even to make use of the plural *you* instead of the singular *thee*, which was originally done out of flattery. 2. That

it is not lawful for Christians to kneel or prostrate themselves to any man, or to bow the body, or to uncover the head to men. 3. That it is not lawful for a Christian to use such superfluities in apparel, as are of no use except for ornament and vanity. 4. That it is not lawful to use games, sports, or plays among Christians, under the notion of recreations, which do not agree with Christian gravity and sobriety; for laughing, sporting, gaming, mocking, jesting, vain talking, &c. are not Christian liberty, nor harmless mirth. 5. That it is not lawful for Christians to swear at all under the gospel, not only vainly, and in their common discourse, which was also forbidden under the law, but not even in judgment before the magistrate. 6. That it is not lawful for Christians to resist evil, or to war, or fight in any case whatever.

The Sabbatarians are a branch of the Anabaptists, who only differ in consecrating the Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday, as well as Sunday. They are called Israelites on the continent. The Muggletonians, Hattemites, Uckewallists, Labbadists, Verschorists, &c. who derive their name from their respective founders, were mere ephemeral productions, and differed but little from those sects already described.

[501]
C H A P. IV.

OF LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

*Golden Age of European Literature—Bellarmin—Bossuet—
Baronius—Richelieu—Sirmond—Mariana—Tillemont—
Father Paul—Pascal—Fenelon—Claude—Drelincourt—
Cappel—Bochart—The Buxtorfs—Episcopus—Grotius—
Laud—The memorable John Hales—Usher—Hall—Tay-
lor—Stillingfleet—Cudworth—Wilkins—More—Which-
cot—Smith—Patrick—Tillotson—Pocock—Cumberland—
Barrow—South—Burnet—Pearson—Beveridge—Calamy
—Baxter—Poole—Bacon—Galileo—Des Cartes—Gaf-
sendi—Newton—Boyle—Shakespeare—Milton, &c.*

THAT natural progress to maturity or perfec-
tion, and from perfection to decay, which
is instanced in almost every object of the natural
world, has by many been supposed to exist with
respect to the literary world ; and to science and
learning, the terms infancy and decline have been
commonly applied. Should these speculations be
any more than a visionary theory, founded upon a
fanciful and erroneous analogy, the seventeenth
century must, on the fairest estimate, be distin-
guished as the golden age of European literature.
For the reasons, however, which were stated in
the last chapter of the preceding century, many
names which are highly deserving of the most re-

spectful mention must be wholly omitted; and with respect to those which are noticed, the limits of this work will admit of only cursory remarks.

During these declining periods of the Romish church, there were not wanting able defenders of her doctrine and authority, the most illustrious of whom were Robert Bellarmin, who, from an obscure Italian Jesuit, was raised to the dignity of cardinal, and the celebrated Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. The Exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith, by Bossuet, is the most subtle and ingenious apology that perhaps was ever published in favour of a system of error and usurpation. It was not however relished by the rigid adherents of popery; it was condemned by the university of Louvain as "scandalous and pernicious," and was disavowed by the Sorbonne; though I believe it is now, in these moderate times, very generally acknowledged as orthodox by the catholic church. Bossuet was the author of several other works, and is among the most admired of the French preachers.

Cardinal Baronius was also indebted for his advancement to his literary abilities. His great work is termed Ecclesiastical Annals. After the death of Clement VIII. he had thirty votes for the pontificate, but was excepted against by the king of Spain, on account of a treatise which he had composed concerning the Sicilian monarchy. The celebrated cardinal de Richelieu must also be numbered among the defenders of the Romish hierarchy;

chy; though an insinuation has escaped Du Pin, that the controversial writings which pass under his name are not really his*. The Jesuits Sirmond and Mariana were distinguished in the same cause. The infamous work of the latter, *De Rege, &c.* is said to have prompted Ravaillac to the assassination of Henry IV. It was burnt at Paris by order of parliament. Tillemont, though extremely partial to the church of Rome, deserves a high place among ecclesiastical historians.

The authors of the Romish communion did not all, however, devote themselves implicitly to the support of the Romish doctrines. The name of Father Paul of Venice will be illustrious as long as any zeal for truth and liberty continues to exist. This truly uncommon character took upon him very early in life the habit of the Servites, nor could the most splendid offers of court favour and emolument allure him from his convent and his studies. His liberality of sentiment exposed him to a severe persecution, and he was at length assassinated and left for dead by five ruffians, who retired to the palace of the pope's nuncio at Venice, whence they escaped to Ferrara. He however recovered of his wounds, and lived to complete his incomparable *History of the Council of Trent*, which has been already noticed. A posthumous work on the *Government of Venice*, attributed to him, has been lately published in London, by a foreign noble-

* Du Pin, Cent, 17.

man, eminent for his love of literature. If, however, the work be really his, there is much reason to suspect it of great interpolations, as it evidently contains sentiments altogether unworthy of this excellent person.

The celebrated Pascal was also no less remarkable for his liberality than for his piety. His Provincial Letters were the first effective blow which ever was aimed against the credit and authority of the Jesuits*.

It would be highly culpable not to mention with the greatest respect the name of Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, whose writings have contributed perhaps more to the promotion of real virtue than those of any other author of this century. His admiration and pity for the unfortunate madame Guyon involved him in a series of persecutions, as a favourer of the doctrines of Quietism; and his book concerning the Maxims of the Saints and the Internal Life was condemned at Rome on the 12th of March 1699. The magnanimity and moderation of the excellent prelate were conspicuous on this occasion: he submitted to read the sentence against his own work in public from the pulpit at Cambray, and earnestly exhorted his hearers to respect and obey the papal decree†.

The study of ancient literature was greatly faci-

* The comedies of Moliere (says Voltaire) have not more wit than the first Provincial Letters.

† Life of Fenelon, prefixed to Kearsley's edition of Hawksworth's Telemachus.

litated by the splendid and valuable editions of the fathers by the Benedictine monks; and still more by the useful labours of the society of Port Royal. The principal of these authors were Robert and Anthony Arnaud, Anthony and Isaac Le Maitre, Claud Launcelot, Claud de St. Martha, and Tillemont. Most of these eminent persons had been men of the world, and had shone in the different departments of the state or the law, and retired to Port Royal in the evening of life, for the purpose of cultivating literature and virtue.

The divines of the reformed church were not inferior. The eloquence of Claude and Drelin-court was surpassed by no preachers of this century; and the profound and extensive erudition of Bochart, Cappel, the Buxtorfs, and others, exerted in the noblest and most useful branch of literature, the illustration of scripture, will be always admired.

Among the favourers of Arminianism, Episcopius and Grotius were highly eminent for their extensive erudition. The Commentaries of Grotius on the Holy Scripture, and his work in defence of the Christian Religion, are invaluable. His treatise of War and Peace is less liberal than might have been expected from so enlightened a mind; but it was probably a sacrifice either to gratitude or interest, and therefore in a great measure accommodated to the prejudices of Lewis XIV.

The mere catalogue of English writers who excelled

celled in the department of theology during the seventeenth century, would exceed the limits of this chapter. From the reign of Henry VIII. to that of William III. every branch of literature, and the study of the Greek language in particular, was cultivated in England with unremitting assiduity. The sublime speculations of Plato, as well as of the later Platonists, were adduced to the illustration of the truths of the Gospel by a succession of divines, who for solidity of judgment and extent of erudition have scarcely been equalled. The unfortunate and mistaken Laud was possessed of one quality which almost atones for his many errors *; he was a warm and active patron of learning and genius: such indeed was his respect for talents, that even the memorable John Hales, whose principles were in many respects diametrically opposite to his own, was not exempted from his patronage †.

* As far as posthumous fame is desirable, it is no mean acquisition to have commanded the applause of Dr. Johnson.

See, when the vulgar 'scape, despis'd or aw'd,
 Rebellion's vengeful talons seize on Laud.
 From meaner minds, tho' smaller fines content,
 The plunder'd palace or sequester'd rent;
 Mark'd out by dang'rous parts he meets the shock,
 And fatal learning leads him to the block:
 Around his tomb let art and genius weep;
 But hear his death, ye blockheads, hear and sleep.

† In the works of Hales, there is a letter to Laud, the happiest specimen extant of independence tempered with respect.

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The names of Usher and of Hall are familiar to most readers. The former was primate of Ireland during the dreadful rebellion in that country, and was obliged to save his life by flight. He is generally esteemed as a man of equal integrity and candour; and his fame for erudition was such that after his retirement from the church, the university of Leyden made him an honorary professor, and cardinal Richelieu sent him his picture, with liberal offers and free toleration, if he would make France the place of his residence. Besides his *Annals* and other treatises, he made a collection of the *Epistles of the Primitive Fathers*. Bishop Hall was a man of learning, moderation, and piety; his character was so high among the members of the reformed churches, that he was appointed, in 1618, to preach a Latin sermon before the synod of Dort, and was presented by the states with a gold medal.

But the most elegant scholar, and the most useful writer of this period was Dr. Jeremy Taylor. He was the son of a barber at Cambridge, and was introduced to public notice by archbishop Laud. During the depression of the royal party, he was reduced to great indigence and distress; but, at the Restoration, was rewarded with the bishopric of Downe and Connor. His writings consist for the most part of practical treatises of piety; and while they interest and entertain the learned by the keenness of remark, the general knowledge of the human heart, and the classical allusions with which they

they abound, they are still more extensively useful in affording comfort and instruction to the plain and unlettered Christian. The style is easy and harmonious, and every sentence contains some striking sentiment or observation. The late Dr. Johnson frequently made a present of his *Holy Living and Dying* even to young persons; and whoever will compare the sermons, which he has written, with bishop Taylor's, will scarcely fail to perceive that Dr. Johnson has made him his model, at least in that department of literature.

These eminent divines were succeeded by a series of men in the church, of unbounded erudition. The works of Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester, abound in deep research, and evince the most perfect knowledge of ancient literature; yet he is even exceeded by Cudworth, whose *Intellectual System* contains all the wisdom of the ancient metaphysics.

Wilkins, bishop of Chester, was a man of singular genius. No writer ever indulged himself in bolder projects, and none has adventured in them with equal ingenuity. Whether he forms a scheme for a Philosophical Language, or writes a treatise on the Art of Flying, he is always plausible, always ingenious, always persuasive. The work which is at present of most general utility is his *Ecclesiastes, or Gift of Preaching*, which contains useful instructions to young preachers.

Dr. Henry More, Dr. Benjamin Whichcot,
and

and the celebrated John Smith of Cambridge, were among the English Platonists, and were excelled by few in learning, sense, and virtue.

From the same school proceeded Patrick and Tillotson; the former of whom is perhaps the best commentator on the scriptures extant; the latter is too well known to need commendation in this place.

The Polyglot was published at this period, by Dr. Bryan Walton. But the first oriental scholar of Europe was confessedly Dr. Edward Pocock. Such indeed was the zeal with which every branch of learning which could reflect light upon the sacred scriptures was cultivated in England, during this century, that bishop Cumberland (author of the excellent treatise on the Laws of Nature) at the age of eighty-three applied himself to the study of the Coptic, and made himself master of that intricate language.

The sermons of Dr. Barrow ought to constitute a part of the library of every young divine. They exhibit a complete view of almost every topic of faith and practice, and are models of a plain and chaste style. The witty and sarcastical South has left some volumes of valuable discourses.

Dr. Burnet, bishop of Sarum, is better known by his historical than by his theological writings. His Defence of the Articles of the Church of England, however, and his Pastoral Care, are useful and valuable productions.

Pearson and Beveridge were both able divines, and Hammond and Whitby excellent expositors of the New Testament. Among the non-conformist ministers also several appeared of great eminence. Both Calamy and Baxter were complimented with the offer of bishoprics on the Restoration; the latter indeed was no less distinguished by his piety and moderation than by his learning and talents. The Critical Synopsis of Poole, a work of incredible labour, entitles him justly to a most respectable place among the Biblical commentators.

The philosophy of nature was cultivated in this century with unexampled success. Bacon, Galileo, Des Cartes, and Gassendi, were the precursors of the incomparable Newton. The name of Boyle must also be mentioned with respect.

To complete the triumph of English literature, it is only necessary to mention that the names of Shakespeare, Milton, and Butler, occur in the annals of the seventeenth century.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THIS CENTURY.

Toleration—Succession of Popes from Clement XI. to Clement XIV.—Character of Ganganelli—Pius VI.—Suppression of the Jesuits—in Portugal—in Spain—in France—Revolution in America.

DURING the course of the present century few events have occurred of much general importance to the church. The great ones of the earth have been too much engaged in temporal concerns to pay attention to the affairs of religion ; with many evils, one advantage only has attended this religious indifference, and that is, that the flames of persecution have ceased to rage ; the people enjoy in peace and security the liberty of thinking as they please ; and the established religions, on the other hand, are no longer disturbed by the fanaticism or jealousy of the multitude*.

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* Perhaps an exception ought to be made with respect to
France,

In the year 1700, Clement XI. succeeded to the papal throne, and is chiefly remarkable for having published the famous bull, which from its initial letters is entitled *Unigenitus*. It was issued in opposition to the Jansenists, and defines and settles the articles of the Romish faith. He was succeeded by Innocent XII. Benedict XIII. who succeeded Innocent, was a man of eminent piety and virtue. For the purpose of reforming the errors of the church, he assembled the famous council which met in the palace of the Lateran in 1725, the acts and decrees of which were made public, but have proved utterly ineffectual to the ends which were proposed from them.

This respectable pontiff was succeeded by Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. the latter of whom was a man of learning as well as piety. When cardinal Lambertini, he published a treatise on the Canonization of Saints, with some other works. Clement XIII. who acceded to the pontificate on the 6th of July 1758, was a man of a very different character. He was a bigot to every petty ceremony; and indeed the celebrated Ganganelli seems to have perfectly characterized his two predecessors in a few words; when he said Benedict had written, and Clement had prayed much. The haughtiness of the Venetian character displayed itself in Clement, in the dispute in which

France, but the above paragraph was written previous to the revolution in that country.

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he involved himself on account of the Jesuits with all the branches of the house of Bourbon, who threatened to withdraw their dominions from the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome. He left the papal dignity in a critical situation, from which all the prudence and moderation of his successor could scarcely emancipate it.

Laurenzo Ganganelli, the son of a physician at St. Archangelo, and the only regular in the sacred college at the time of his election (being of the order of minor conventuals), was chosen on the 19th of May, 1769, and assumed the title of Clement XIV. After completing his studies, Ganganelli had obtained the regency of his college, and was afterwards promoted to the office of consultor to the Holy Office. This employment, which included that of Pope's divine in all inquisitorial concerns, introduced him to considerable notice; and in a contest between the cardinals Torrigiani and Carlo Rezzonico to fill a vacancy in the cardinalate for their respective friends, the pusillanimous pope terminated the struggle by advancing to the cardinal's hat father Ganganelli in preference to either of the candidates already recommended. These progressive steps of his advancement were, as he professed himself, unexpected, and unsought for; yet Ganganelli has been charged with having always extended his views, and with having adopted a regular system of conduct for obtaining the papacy, from the time that he be-

came one of that body from which are selected the sovereigns of Rome.

The ruin of the Jesuits was at this period resolved upon in Portugal, and the manœuvres of Pombal had extended the designs against this body into almost every court in Europe, and particularly Spain. By his artifices, Ganganelli obtained the friendship and confidence of Don Emanuel de Rada, the Spanish minister at the court of Rome. He obtained also the intimacy of the Portuguese and French ministers; and, in contradiction to the practice of the cardinals, who, on account of the pretensions of the papacy to the duchies of Parma and Placenza, always avoid addressing the duke of Parma on any occasion which must oblige them to consider him as the lawful possessor of those territories, Ganganelli seized every occasion of congratulation or condolance to write to the duke. An occurrence which took place in the management of the corn soon afforded Ganganelli an opportunity of acquiring great popularity amongst every rank. By the devices of Torrigiani, the secretary of state, an artificial famine was raised in Rome and the adjacent country: great numbers perished miserably, and many of those who survived flocked to Rome, in order, by processions and supplications, to avert their calamities and obtain some redress. In this extremity, commissioners were dispatched to procure corn at four times the price at which it had been exported: much of
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the concealed grain appeared by degrees, but so much injured that it produced very alarming diseases amongst the people; a great mortality ensued, and a plague was apprehended. Inadequate as this relief was, it must be paid for, and there was no money in the treasury. It was determined to have recourse to five millions of money, which Sixtus V. had deposited in the castle of St. Angelo, with the express proviso that it must only be employed in cases of extreme urgency, and not without the consent of the consistory of cardinals. Ganganelli boldly opposed the squandering of that treasure, which was left for the benefit of the state, and must be refunded by a tax upon the people, who were already nearly exhausted. He noticed the atrocity by which so dreadful a calamity had been produced, and insisted upon an investigation of the business, the restitution of the money which had been so scandalously acquired, and the punishment of the criminals. If this was the dictate of public spirit, Ganganelli was disappointed: the money was applied to pay for the wickedness of the monopolizers; but the cardinal became the darling of the people, who anxiously desired his succession to the papal throne.

The resistance of Ganganelli on this occasion to the views of the consistory, has by his enemies been ascribed to his desire of appearing in opposition to the pope, and by this means indirectly obtaining the

patronage of the forcing courts *, to whom the indecision of the reigning pontiff concerning the suppression of the Jesuits had been very offensive.

On the decease of Clement XIII. the interest of these courts was united in favour of Ganganelli, who however deferred for some time to gratify the general expectation of the abolition of the Jesuits. His popularity was preserved by his diminishing several taxes which were very oppressive to the poor, and the Clementine Museum was enriched by his liberality and taste. Whether the humility professed by the pontiff may be depended upon or not, thus much is certain, that no man, after the attainment of dignity, ever lived more agreeably to such a profession. He was modest and unaffected. When he first removed to the Vatican, he found his chamber hung with crimson damask, which he immediately ordered to be removed, and observed, that bare walls were sufficient for a plain monk. He was temperate in an extreme, and performed every office about his own person as long as he was able, because he conceived he had no right to incommode even his attendants. What-

* The courts of Spain, Portugal, and Naples have been thus termed from their always taking an active part in the election of a pope. There is another party on this occasion denominated the Roman party, to which has sometimes been added a third called *il partito de Zelanti*, the zealous party, which is sometimes termed *il partito Volante*, the flying party.

ever savings accrued from the frugal regulations which he adopted in his domestic œconomy, he put to the best of uses, by distributing them to the necessitous poor, in the relieving of whom he indulged himself as a favourite amusement. By his wisdom and address he reconciled offended monarchs, and made several regulations in the monastic orders much to the advantage of religion and virtue.

The court of Portugal and the house of Bourbon were however not at all disposed to relinquish their favourite project, and Clement was at length obliged to prepare a brief for the suppression of the Jesuits. This was accordingly dispatched to the court of Spain; whence, after going through a revision and several alterations, it was sent back to Rome, and put in execution. From this period has been dated the disorder which carried Ganganelli to the tomb. From this period he is reported to have been the victim of imaginary apprehensions, and the prey of distrust. The poison to which his death has been ascribed by some, has by others been believed to have had no existence but in his own imagination. He was however haunted by the idea: he procured counterpoisons to be ready in case of emergency; and conceiving that extreme perspiration was conducive to counteracting the dreaded mischief, he sat during the excessive warmth of July and August in a chamber heated by a brazier; and his sweats were so profuse, as to oblige him daily to change his linen se-

veral times. To these causes, rather than to the operation of slow poison, have been ascribed the gradual waste of his body, and the deprivation of the use of his limbs. They were indeed the harbingers of his death; but according to the testimony of his own physician, and the physician to the conclave, Ganganelli destroyed his life by his extreme care for its preservation. It is to the honour of this pontiff, that his views were never directed to the enriching of his own family, and that at his death 12,000 crowns were the whole of his personal possessions.

Ganganelli was succeeded on the 15th of February, 1775, by Pius VI. who is generally esteemed as a pontiff of elegant manners, and of a respectable private character. His abilities, though not splendid, are useful. He is strongly attached to the Romish faith, and takes a peculiar pleasure in performing the various offices and ceremonies of religion. Some dissensions lately arose between this pontiff and the king of the Two Sicilies, with respect to the rights of patronage, which had not apparently been accurately defined in that kingdom: the dispute, however, is at last adjusted.

The event of most general importance, in the history of the church, which has hitherto occurred in this century, is the abolition of the order of Jesuits. The first effectual step to their suppression was taken by the court of Portugal, and their misfortunes indubitably originated in their own misconduct.

The active genius of this order, which penetrated the remotest countries of Asia, at a very early period of the preceding century directed their attention to the extensive continent of America, as a proper object of their missions. Conducted by their leader, St. Francis Xavier, they formed a considerable settlement in the province of Paraguay, and made a rapid progress in instructing the Indians in arts, religion, and the more simple manufactures, and accustoming them to the blessings of security and order. A few Jesuits presided over many thousand Indians: they soon, however, altered their views, and directed them altogether to the increase of the opulence and power of their order. Immense quantities of gold were annually transmitted to Europe; and in the design of securing to themselves an independent empire in these regions, they industriously cut off all communication with both the Spaniards and Portuguese in the adjacent provinces, and inspired the Indians with the most determined detestation to those nations. Such was the state of affairs when, in the year 1750, a treaty was concluded between the courts of Lisbon and Madrid, which ascertained the limits of their respective dominions in South America. Such a treaty was death to the projects of the Jesuits, and the consequence was a violent contest between the united forces of the two European powers, and the Indians of Paraguay incited by the Jesuits. The crafty and vindictive

marquis of Pombal, who had raised himself from performing the duties of a common soldier, in the character of a cadet, to be absolute minister of the kingdom of Portugal, could not easily forgive this refractory conduct ; and perhaps he might apprehend the downfall of his own authority, unless some decisive check were given to the growing influence of this dangerous society. Whether there was a foundation or not for the report of the conspiracy against the life of the king, or whether the discontented Jesuits were really concerned with the unfortunate noblemen who suffered on that account, is difficult to determine. It was sufficient that it afforded a specious pretence for this expert but unprincipled statesman to rid himself of enemies, whom he could not regard in any other than a formidable light. In the beginning of the year 1759, therefore, the Jesuits of all descriptions were banished the kingdom of Portugal, on the plea that certain of their order were concerned in the attempt upon the life of the king in September 1758, and their effects were confiscated. The hostilities which commenced, not long after, between Portugal and Spain, served a little to protract the existence of the Jesuits in the latter kingdom : the jealousy however, which their conduct had excited in the court of Madrid lay dormant only for a while, and, when a fit opportunity presented, no nation of Europe was more clamorous for their abolition.

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The disgrace of the Jesuits in France proceeded from different and more remote causes. Among the opposers of Jansenism, none distinguished themselves equally with the Jesuits. By their influence the bull *Unigenitus*, which condemned so strongly the principles of the Jansenists, was generally supposed to have been obtained. The bull was opposed by the parliament and archbishop of Paris, by fifteen other prelates, and by many of the most respectable among the inferior clergy, as an infringement on the rights of the Gallican church: the weak and unprincipled Lewis XIV. was however entirely under the government of the Jesuits, and enforced the acceptance of the bull throughout the whole kingdom.

To the year 1750, the bull, though generally disliked, occasioned no public disturbance. At that period the refusal of the sacrament to the Jansenists served to rekindle the dormant flame. This unlawful usurpation was warmly opposed by the different parliaments, which ended in the banishment of the members by Lewis XV. the reigning sovereign. After various intrigues, in consequence of which the parliament of Paris was twice banished, and twice recalled, some other events occurred which accelerated the downfall of the order of Jesus.

As the constitution of the society did not prevent the order from engaging deeply in temporal concerns, no opportunity of enriching their treasury

fury was permitted to escape them. They engaged largely in trade, particularly with the island of Martinico ; but certain losses falling heavily upon them, the Jesuit who was the ostensible person in the transactions, affected to become a bankrupt, and to shift the payment of the debts he had incurred from the collective body. As a monk, it was evident he could possess no distinct property, and he had been always considered in the light of an agent for the society. The affair was therefore litigated before the parliament of Paris, who were not over favourably disposed to the holy fathers. In the course of the proceedings, it was necessary to produce the institute or rules of their order, when it was found to contain maxims subversive equally of morals and of government ; and other political motives concurring at the same time, the order was abolished in France by a royal edict, in the year 1762, and their colleges and possessions alienated and sold.

The bigotry of Clement XIII. long withstood the solicitations of these united Catholic powers ; but the sagacious Ganganelli, whose views were more extensive, and whose religious sentiments were more moderate, made a proper sacrifice of the society to political wisdom and the spirit of the times, and on the 21st of July, 1773, signed a brief for their final suppression. The ten houses and colleges possessed by the order in Rome were seized upon at the same instant. The brief of suppression

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was read in each society, the general was conveyed to the English college, and confined to a small gallery at the top of the building, where his examination commenced, and with that of several others of the fraternity was completed at the castle of St. Angelo, where the confinement of the general was continued under the reign of Pius VI.

Another event, which has lately occurred, will probably not be without its effects upon the state of Christianity. I speak of the disunion of the Thirteen States of North America from the government of England, and the extraordinary measures which have been adopted in those countries with respect to religion. The plan of religious toleration which is adopted in several of these states, extends to an exemption from any tax or contribution whatever for the maintenance of religion, or of its public teachers. Whether mankind do not in every state require some degree of restraint, whether avarice and profligacy may not abuse this excess of liberty, are questions which time alone can determine; and though a regard to those impressions which the present generation may have received from a Christian education will probably for a few years preserve at least a shew of religion, still there appears reason to apprehend, that the interests of learning as well as Christianity may materially suffer from the want of an adequate and permanent support being extended to the instructors of the people*.

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* We are indebted to the Christian religion for an institution, which

As far indeed as I have been able to collect from oral testimony respecting the state of religion in America,

which has, perhaps, contributed more than any cause whatever to the information and moral refinement of mankind. The schools of ancient philosophy, from the great expence of attending them, were shut against the poor : and even those who studied there, contemplated the social virtues rather with a view to scholastic refinement than to practice ; rather in a political and interested light, than as matter of positive obligation, and derived from the Author of Nature. But the institution of a well-educated body of teachers, authorized by the state to explain in public the duties of morality, and to enforce them by every argument which can interest the passions or the hopes of men, is certainly an improvement in police (to call it by no more assuming a title) which ought not to be overlooked, in our researches into the causes which have operated for the civilization of mankind.

The question is not, whether we should be left totally without religion, if the arm of civil power were to withdraw its support ; but whether a pure, a rational, a moral religion, would continue to exist ? whether men, if left to themselves, would contribute to the maintenance of such a body of public teachers as I have been describing ; or, if some would even consent to support teachers for themselves, whether they would be equally ready to support them for others ? In plain terms, Whether the kingdom of Heaven, the knowledge of it at least, would not be monopolized by the rich, in exclusion of the poor, to whom it was originally preached ? However ardent men may be in the support of new opinions ; however the first professors of Christianity might be actuated by zeal, or by inspiration ; is it to be supposed that the generality of mankind, the vicious, the unthinking multitude, would long continue to sacrifice avarice to virtue ? It would then be their interest to be professing infidels ; and even those, who might still retain some little sense of religious awe, would apply to whatever quack would administer to their salvation on the cheapest terms. The fervor of piety, or of emulation, which
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America, it appears that in those provinces, where there is an establishment, the moral and religious senti-

now engages them to vie in decency and order with the established church, would abate in the sectaries themselves; and some, who ungratefully wish the overthrow of the church, would be buried in the ruins. Rivalship, in every department of life, is the source of excellence; and where that rivalry is with established laws and ordinances, it serves effectually to restrain those eccentricities, and that caprice, to which human nature is liable, even in what respects religion.

If, in a word, the teachers of Christianity were to be thrown upon chance for their subsistence, who would be disinterested enough to spend a youth of study, and an age of care, without reward, distinction, or even competence? If the majority of the people were to be exempted from contributing to the support of religion, is it probable that a virtuous minority would be long able to withstand the torrent of vice and ridicule? Undoubtedly, the Deity might work a miracle in support of his religion, but I believe no rational person would wish to see the experiment tried; to see men tempt God by their indolence, their avarice, their folly, and presumption.

“But allowing that all should be compelled to contribute to the support of some form of public worship; is it not a manifest infringement upon liberty, that men cannot choose their own preacher, as well as their own taylor?” I reply, The very act of forcing them to contribute at all, is an infringement upon liberty; and though the vulgar may be competent judges of the abilities of a taylor, we cannot allow them equal discernment in matters of science and erudition. Daily experience may convince us how injudiciously preferment would be distributed by popular elections. The modesty of genius would stand little chance of being distinguished by an ignorant multitude. The most illiterate, the most impudent, those who could most

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sentiments of the inhabitants exist in superior purity ; and in those where all persons are obliged to contribute to some religious society, the state is still better than where that total ecclesiastical anarchy, which has just been noticed, is allowed. In those provinces, the churches of every denomination are but little frequented, and are almost in ruins ; and the morals and conduct of the inhabitants are proportionably lax, and verging to depravity.

Under the present wise and popular administration of America, some mode will probably be speedily adopted for remedying this deficiency in the national education : for such all religious institutions really are. Perhaps it would not be difficult to combine the most perfect religious liberty with this important object ; and perhaps charity might equally be promoted with general morality,

dexterously play the hypocrite, who could best adapt their preaching to the fanaticism of the vulgar, would be the only successful candidates for public favour. Thus I have no doubt that reason, moderation, and literature would soon be banished ; and a scene of corruption, confusion, and madness would prevail. Possibly, our candid opposers, the freethinkers themselves, would find little cause of triumph in the ruin of the church ; a favourite superstition might erect its head among the populace, less liberal, less indulgent to the vagaries of modern philosophy, than the present establishment. Possibly, in the flames of persecution, they might too late regret that freedom and tranquillity they so unworthily enjoyed. *Essays Hist. and Mor.*

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by the experiment which I would recommend. The controverted points among Christians are the least practical; and it may in general be taken for granted, that there is no sect of Christians which does not inculcate good morals. It would probably therefore be a wise regulation to set apart in each parish or district, a certain portion of land, for the maintenance of a resident teacher of morality and christianity, according to the holy scriptures; the choice to be left either to the parishioners at large, or to a committee to be elected by them. The ministers should hold their places *quamdiu se bene gesserint*; subject however to deprivation for any notable crime, or neglect of duty, and to expulsion from the benefice on a petition to the ordinary courts of justice, or the assembly of the state, signed by two thirds of the parishioners. It might be left to the discretion of the minister, with the approbation of the majority of the parishioners, to use a liturgy or not, or to conform to the regimen of the episcopal, presbyterian, or any other Christian church. If, added to this, a complete toleration to every religion was permitted, there would surely be no infringement on liberty of conscience, and yet a provision would be made for the moral and religious instruction of the people.

The increasing licentiousness and irreligion of the age is an alarming circumstance to all serious
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and reflecting minds; and ought to unite all denominations of Christians in opposing that dreadful spirit of atheism and infidelity, which has deluged a neighbouring country with blood, and which has involved even this country in debauchery, profligacy, and crimes. Let us, in the name of reason and virtue, lay aside our petty disputes, and join heart and hand in opposing the common enemy. I see many reasons for preferring the episcopal form of ecclesiastical policy to others; but this is a mere matter of opinion, and every *Christian* (whatever he call himself) is my friend. The atheist, or the infidel, who is neither awed by the terrors, nor encouraged to goodness by the hopes of a future state, can be the friend of no man; he is the natural enemy of all order in the state, and of all virtue in the individual.

Of the present state of religion in France, but little can be said; and the overthrow of the papal superstition there, is the only circumstance that can be predicted with any degree of certainty concerning that country. The experiment which has lately been made has however proved that, whatever may be the sentiments of their leaders, the *people* (though corrupt) are not yet ripe for atheism. They will have a religion, and that religion will probably be protestant.

In our own country the prospect we trust is more cheerful. Neither the possessions of the church

church are so considerable as to tempt the grasp of avarice, nor is the conduct of its rulers such as to excite contention or resentment. An unfair and injudicious distribution of its patronage would be the only circumstance which could lessen it in the estimation of the public, and effect its overthrow—Let the conspicuous stations only be occupied by learning, abilities and virtue, and the inferior departments be decorated by that regularity and decency of conduct which, I am proud to say, still distinguish most of its professors, and it will defy every outrage which the malignant spirit of infidelity can aim against it. It will continue an institution eminently useful to mankind, and no less permanent than useful.

It would be scarcely consistent with liberality to omit noticing one circumstance, which promises the most happy effects to the interests of Christianity, and to the general happiness of mankind. Under the auspices of government, and under the judicious conduct of some characters eminent equally for piety and ability, an institution has lately been begun, for the express purpose of converting, and instructing in the truths of Christianity, the negroes in the West India islands. To enforce the necessity of such an undertaking, independent of all religious considerations, there are sufficient even of political motives. Such an institution will be the means of retaining the negro inhabitants in better subordination, and of enlarg-

ing their scale of happiness and enjoyment. It is the only means of procrastinating that event which must one day take place, the separation of these colonies from the mother country; and even after this circumstance shall have happened, it will be providing for the virtue and happiness of millions in future generations.

In the remaining parts of British America our government has manifested a laudable attention; it will be for the interest of religion, if, in a spirit of candour and charity, a good understanding is cultivated between the British churches in Quebec and Halifax, and the Episcopal churches in the United States. A similar arrangement to that which has taken place in British America ought undoubtedly to be adopted in the East Indies, and it would prove one of the surest means of retaining these possessions under the dominion of Great Britain.

C H A P. II.

OF THE SECTS WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Moravians—Methodists—Sandemanians—Dunkers—Shakers—Hutchinsonians—Baron Swedenborg—Modern Socinians—Universalists.

AS no alterations of any moment in the established forms of religion appear to have taken place in the course of this century, it is only necessary to treat of the principal sects which have arisen within this period, and to offer the most authentic account of their distinguishing principles.

The first in order of time, if not in consequence, is that which is generally ascribed to Nicholas Lewis Count of Zinzendorf, who about the year 1721 settled at Bartholdorf in Upper Lusatia. This nobleman's first effort was upon some Moravian families, of whom he made profelytes, and engaged them to leave their own country and settle in his neighbourhood. They built a house in the forest which was adjoining to the village of Bartholdorf, where in 1722 they had their first meeting. The society increased so rapidly, that in a few years they were possessed of an orphan-house and other public buildings; they gave their habitation the name of

Herenhuth, and hence they are sometimes called Herenhutters.

The society themselves, however, date their existence from a much earlier period; and assert, that they are descended from the old Moravian and Bohemian brethren, who existed as a distinct sect sixty years prior to the Reformation. They are a sober and inoffensive people; are numerous in some parts of Germany and America, but have never multiplied much in Great Britain. The following doctrines are maintained by the Moravians: 1st. That creation and sanctification ought not to be ascribed to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but belong principally to the Saviour: and to avoid idolatry, people ought to be abstracted from the Father and Holy Ghost, and be first directed singly to Jesus, who is the appointed channel of the Deity. 2d. That Christ has not conquered as God, but as man, with precisely the same powers we have to that purpose. 3d. That the law ought not to be preached under the gospel dispensation. 4th. That the children of God have not to combat with their own sins, but with the kingdom of corruption in the world.

The Moravians assert, that faith consists in a joyful persuasion, of our interest in Christ, and our title to his purchased salvation. They deny the Calvinistical doctrines of particular redemption and final perseverance. They have established
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among themselves a discipline which closely unites them to one another, divides them into different classes, puts them under an entire dependence on their superiors, and confines them to certain exercises of devotion, and to the observing of different rules. The church at Herenbuth is so divided, that first the husbands, then the wives, then the widows, then the maids, then the young men, then the boys, then the girls, and lastly the little children, are in so many distinct classes; each of which is daily visited, the married men by a married man, the wives by a wife, and so of the rest. Each class has its director chosen by its members, and frequent particular assemblies are held in each class, and general ones by the whole society. The members of each class are subdivided into people who are dead, awaked, ignorant, willing disciples, and disciples who have made a progress. Proper assistance is given to each of these subdivisions; but above all, great care is taken of those who are spiritually dead. The elder, the co-elder, the vice-elder, superintend all the classes. There are likewise informers by office, some of them known, some of them kept secret; besides many other employments, and titles too tedious to enumerate. A great part of their worship consists in singing: and their songs are always a connected repetition of those matters which have been preached just before. At all hours, whether day or night, some persons of both sexes are appointed by rota-

tion to pray for the society. When the brethren perceive that the zeal of the society is declining, their devotion is revived by celebrating agapæ or love-feasts. The casting of lots is much practised among them. They make use of it to learn the mind of the Lord. The elders have the sole right of contracting marriage. No promise of marriage is of any validity without their consent *.

The origin of the Methodists in England appears to have been some years posterior to the mission of Count Zinzendorf. In the year 1729, Messrs. John and Charles Wesley having been sent to finish their studies at Oxford, agreed with two other young gentlemen to spend three or four evenings in a week together. On Sundays they read divinity, and other evenings the Greek or Latin classics. In the following summer they were desired to visit the prisoners in the castle, and shortly after agreed to visit them once or twice a week. From this they proceeded to the occupation of visiting the sick in different parts of the town. In 1732 they were joined by seven or eight more young gentlemen, in the following year by Mr. Ingham and Mr. Hervey, and in 1735 by Mr. George Whitfield: at this period Mr. Wesley believes the society in Oxford amounted to about fourteen.

* Rimius's History of the Moravians, p. 16, 18, 19. Moravian Maxims, p. 18. 20. 44, 45. 67. 86. Zinzendorf's Sermons, p. 200. Manual of Doctrine, p. 9. Gillie's Success of the Gospel, vol. ii. p. 66. Dickinson's Letters, p. 169.

In this agreeable society and retirement it was Mr. Wesley's intention to remain; but, in 1735, the death of his father obliged him to go to London, where he was strongly solicited to proceed on a mission to Georgia, with a view of attempting the conversion of the Indians. In October 1735, Mr. Ingham, Mr. Delamotte, and the two Wesleys embarked for America. Impatient however to assume their new functions, they began preaching at Savannah and Frederica; and at length finding themselves disappointed in their expectations of being able to preach to the Indians, they all successively reimbarbed for England*.

In February 1738, Mr. Wesley found himself once more in London, where he became acquainted with Peter Bohler, a young Moravian teacher, and with his assistance formed a society of about forty or fifty, who agreed to meet every Wednesday evening, for the purpose of spiritual instruction and conference. The first meeting was on the first of May 1738, which Mr. Wesley considers as the origin and establishment of Methodism in London†.

During the summer Mr. Wesley visited the Moravians at Herenhuth in Germany; but previous to this Mr. Whitfield had preached in several churches in London, had rendered himself remarkable for inveighing against the vices of the

* Wesley's Short History of the Methodists.

† Ib.

clergy, and had preached up the doctrine of justification by faith alone.

Both Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitfield were soon expelled from the established pulpits: the latter then betook himself immediately to preaching in the open places and highways; and in the latter end of 1738, he assumed the mission which Mr. Wesley had laid down, and embarked for Georgia. After Mr. Wesley's return from Germany he went down to Bristol, where he formed another society of Methodists. The colliers of Kingswood had been remarkable for ignorance, and dissoluteness of manners; but some of them having heard Mr. Whitfield preach, Mr. Wesley found them perfectly disposed to unite in a similar society. Mr. Wesley proceeded afterwards into Wales, where he met with similar success. In the mean time the society in London rapidly increased.

Upon Mr. Whitfield's return from America, he declared his full assent to the doctrines of Calvin concerning election and predestination; in this he was warmly opposed by Mr. Wesley; and from that period a total separation took place between the two parties*.

There do not appear to be any common or distinguishing principles professed by this sect, except those of *salvation by faith only*; and *instantaneous* and *perceptible conversion*, and *assurance* of recon-

* Formey's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii.

ciliation to God, which they term the *new birth*. Mr. Wesley appears to have adopted in general the principles of Arminius, at least with respect to the free agency of man ; and professed in general to conform to the doctrines and ceremonies of the church of England. Mr. Whitfield's followers are, as to their doctrinal tenets, strictly Calvinistic. The societies of Methodists observe a love-feast once a month ; they have also what they call a custom of keeping watch-nights once a month, that is, singing and praying from eight o'clock in the evening till twelve. They admit lay-preachers, but these (at least in Mr. Wesley's chapels) are prohibited from administering the Sacrament*.

The Sandemanians, or Glassites as they are termed in Scotland, derive their name from two popular preachers in North Britain, Mr. John Glass, and Mr. Robert Sandeman. Their doctrine and discipline are said to be : 1st. That justifying faith is no more than a simple belief of the truth, or the divine testimony passively received. 2d. That this divine testimony carries in itself sufficient ground of hope and occasion of joy to every one who believes it, without any thing wrought in us, or done by us, to give it a particular direction to ourselves. 3d. They constantly communicate to-

* I have been informed, that regular ordination, either among the Dissenters, or in the Church, enables a minister to administer the Sacrament in Mr. Whitfield's tabernacle.

gether in the Lord's Supper every Sabbath : for they consider the Christian Sabbath as designed for the celebration of divine ordinances, which are summarily comprised, Acts ii. 42. 4th. In the interval between the morning and the afternoon service, they have their love-feasts ; of which every member partakes by dining at the houses of such of the brethren as live sufficiently near, and whose habitations are convenient for that purpose. Their professed design in these feasts is to cultivate mutual knowledge and friendship, to testify that they are all brethren of one family, and that the poor may have a comfortable meal at the expence of the more wealthy ; and this and other opportunities they take for the kifs of charity, or the saluting of each other with an holy kifs.

Some singular sects have arisen in America within the course of this century. Of this class are the Dunkers, who about 1724 were formed into a kind of commonwealth, mostly in a small town called Ephrata, in or near Pennsylvania. They seem to have obtained their name from their manner of baptizing their new converts, which is by immersion. Their habit appears to be peculiar to themselves, consisting of a long tunic or coat reaching down to their heels, with a sash or girdle round their waist, and a cap or hood hanging from the shoulders, like the dress of the Dominican friars. The men do not shave the head or beard. The men and women have separate habitations,

and distinct governments. For these purposes, they have erected two large wooden buildings; one of which is occupied by the brethren, the other by the sisters of the society: and in each of them there is a banqueting-room, and an apartment for public worship; for the brethren and sisters do not meet together even at their devotions. They live chiefly upon roots and other vegetables; the rules of their society not allowing them flesh, except upon particular occasions, when they hold what they call a love-feast; at which time the brethren and sisters dine together in a large apartment, and eat mutton, but no other meat. No member of the society is allowed a bed, but in case of sickness. In each of their little cells they have a bench fixed to serve the purpose of a bed, and a small block of wood for a pillow. The Dunkers allow of no intercourse betwixt the brethren and sisters, not even by marriage. The principal tenet of the Dunkers appears to be this: That future happiness is only to be obtained by penance and outward mortification in this life; and that as Jesus Christ, by his meritorious sufferings, became the redeemer of mankind in general, so each individual of the human race, by a life of abstinence and restraint, may work out his own salvation. Nay, they go so far as to admit of works of supererogation; and declare, that a man may do much more than he is in justice or equity obliged to do, and that his super-

superabundant works may therefore be applied to the salvation of others. They also deny the eternity of future punishments *.

The Shakers, which were instituted about the year 1774, are no less singular. Anna Leese, whom they style the Elect Lady, is the head of this party. They assert that she is the woman spoken of in the twelfth chapter of the Revelations; and that she speaks seventy-two tongues—and though those tongues are unintelligible to the living, she converses with the dead, who understand her language. They add further, that she is the mother of all the elect; and she travails for the whole world: that, in fine, no blessing can descend to any person but only by and through her, and that in the way of her being possessed of their sins, by their confessing and repenting of them, one by one, according to her direction. They vary in their exercises; their heavy dancing as it is called, is performed by a perpetual springing from the house floor, about four inches up and down, both in the men's and women's apartment, moving about with extraordinary transport, singing sometimes one at a time, and sometimes more. This elevation affects the nerves, so that they have intervals of shuddering, as if they were in a violent fit of the ague. They sometimes clap their hands, and leap so high as to strike the joists above their heads.

* See the entertaining and well-written Letters of Caspipina, p. 70.

They

They throw off their outside garments in these exercises, and spend their strength very cheerfully this way ; their chief speaker often calls for their attention, when they all stop, and hear some harangue, and then begin dancing again. They assert, that their dancing is the token of the great joy and happiness of the Jerusalem state, and denotes the victory over sin. One of their most favourite exertions is turning round very swiftly for an hour or two. This they say is to show the great power of God *.

Though not strictly to be accounted sectaries, since each of them were declared enemies to all separation from their respective churches, the names of John Hutchinson and Baron Swedenborg have excited too much attention to be entirely omitted in this history †. The former of these extraordinary characters was born in 1674 ; and in the early part of his life served the duke of Somerset in the capacity of steward. He was undoubtedly a man of uncommon abilities, and of extensive knowledge. He applied himself, among other pursuits, assiduously to the study of nature, and is said to have collected in the course of his travels

* Rathburn's Account of the Shakers, p. 4, 5, 6. 14. Taylor's Account of the Shakers, p. 4. 7, 8, 9. 15, 16. West's Account of the Shakers, p. 8. 13.

† I am under the stronger necessity of introducing them here, because, for obvious reasons, the usual account of authors is omitted in this century.

that

that admirable selection of fossils which were bequeathed by Dr. Woodward to the university of Cambridge.

In 1724 he published the first part of his *Moses's Principia*, in which he ridiculed Dr. Woodward's Theory of the Earth, and attacked the doctrine of Gravitation and other parts of the *Principia* of Newton. About three years afterwards he published a second volume, explaining the nature of the scripture philosophy, and the system of Moses. The Hebrew language and the Holy Scriptures he esteemed as the source of all knowledge human* and divine, and wrote some treatises fancifully illustrative of that language; but he was no admirer of classical literature. After Origen and other eminent commentators, he asserted that the Scriptures were not to be understood in a literal, but in an allegorical sense; that even the historical parts, and particularly those relating to the Jewish ceremonies, and Levitical law, were to be considered in this light; and he asserted further, that, agreeably to this mode of interpretation, the Hebrew Scriptures would be found to testify amply concerning the nature and person of Jesus Christ †.

* All the principles of natural philosophy are supposed by the Hutchinsonians to be deducible from the letter of the Scriptures.

† See an abstract of Mr. Hutchinson's writings by the late Dr. George Horne Bishop of Norwich. See also Mr. Jones's Lectures on the figurative Language of Scripture.

The

The followers of Mr. Hutchinson have never formed themselves into any distinct church or society; but his doctrines have been embraced by considerable numbers both of the clergy and laity in England, who on that account are distinguished by the appellation of Hutchinsonians.

The Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg was the son of Jasper Swedenborg, bishop of West Gotha. He appears to have had an uncommonly good education, for his learning was extensive in almost every branch; and at a very early period of life he became remarkable for his abilities at the court of Sweden. His first and favourite pursuit was natural knowledge, on which he published several excellent treatises. He was intimate with the celebrated Charles XII. who appointed him to the office of assessor to the metallic college; and in 1719, he was ennobled by queen Ulrica Eleanora, and named Baron Swedenborg*.

In the year 1743, he professed to have been favoured with a particular revelation, and a sight of the invisible world. From that period he devoted himself to theological studies, and composed an incredible number of books upon those subjects, in good Latin (but without any ornaments of style), which he wrote with the utmost facility, and seldom blotted or corrected a line. He lived and died in the Lutheran communion, but always pro-

* Sophron and Philadelphus.

ferred the highest respect and veneration for the church of England.

The theology of Baron Swedenborg is in many instances abstruse and mystical. He carried his respect for the person and divinity of Jesus Christ to the highest point of veneration, considering him altogether as "God manifested in the flesh, and as the fulness of the Godhead united to the man Christ Jesus." With respect therefore to the Sacred Trinity, though he rejected the idea of three distinct persons, as destructive of the unity of the Godhead, he admitted three distinct essences, principles, or characters as existing in it, namely the divine essence, or character in virtue of which he is called the *Father* or *Creator*; the human essence, principle, or character, united to the divine in the person of Christ Jesus, in virtue of which he is called the *Son* and Redeemer; and lastly, the proceeding essence or principle, in virtue of which he is called the *Holy Ghost*. The virtue and efficacy of the atonement by the passion and death of the man Christ Jesus, is considered by Baron Swedenborg as not consisting in "the change of disposition in God towards man from wrath to love and mercy, because that ever must be unchangeably the same; but in changing the state of man, by removing from him the powers of hell and darkness, wherewith he was infested in consequence of transgression; and by bringing near to

him the divine and heavenly powers of goodness and truth, in the person and spirit of the blessed Jesus, the manifested God and Saviour, whereby the infirmities and corruptions of human nature might be approached, reached, and wrought upon, and every penitent believer might be thus placed in a state and capacity of arising out of all the evils which sin had given birth to, and of becoming thus again a child of God, through a real renewal and regeneration of all the parts, powers, and principles of his life, both in soul and body *."

Baron Swedenborg, as well as Mr. Hutchinson, asserted that the Holy Scriptures contained an internal and spiritual sense, to which the outward and literal sense serves as a basis or receptacle; and of consequence many of his treatises consist of his illustrations of this figurative or internal sense.

He was a strong asserter of the free agency of man; and it must be confessed, that the practical morals recommended by Baron Swedenborg are of the purest and most unexceptionable kind, with which, from the best authorities, we have reason to believe, his life perfectly corresponded.

But the most extraordinary circumstance respecting this singular character, is the correspondence which he asserted he maintained with the world of spirits. Several parts of his writings

* Soph. and Phil.

are replete with narratives respecting scenes to which he professes to have been a witness in the invisible regions; these he describes by expressions borrowed from the things of this world, which he asserts, however, are only to be understood in a figurative sense, and as corresponding in some degree with those which he describes.

The disciples of Baron Swedenborg are very numerous in Sweden and Germany; and have increased considerably in England within the course of a few years. Some attempts have been lately made to form them into a distinct society; but these have been disapproved by many of the most zealous admirers of the Baron, whom they assert to have been an enemy to all separation, desirous only of establishing an invisible church, or the dominion of faith and virtue in the hearts of men, which they contend is the true interpretation of all that he has said concerning the new Jerusalem, or new church of Christ.

The tenets of the Socinians concerning the Trinity have made some progress in England, especially among the Protestant Dissenters during the course of this century.—The doctrine which was supported by Origen and some of the Fathers, concerning the final salvation of all mankind, contrary to the orthodox opinion of the eternity of future punishments, has also been revived with much zeal, and with some success,
both

both in England and America. It is supported under the name of the Doctrine of Universal Restitution, and those who profess it are termed Universalists.

under the name of Dr. D. and of University of Cambridge, and that it is a book of the University of Cambridge.



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